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VOL. XI. NO. 49.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1902.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

HEATHEN CHINA OUTDONE.

STARTLING REVELATIONS OF SOUTHERN MILL CONDITIONS.

Children Regarded As Men and Women After Twelfth Year—Few Can Read Or Write—Start Work at 5:30 in the Morning—A Sample Pay-roll.

Augusta, Ga., March 1.—The cotton mill industry is larger here than at any other point in the State, and the labor unions claim that local conditions have improved recently, as a result of their war on child labor. It is also claimed by the mill-owners that child labor under twelve years of age has been done away with, in pursuance with an agreement made by them last September.

The facts do not bear out these claims, except perhaps in the case of the Enterprise mill. This mill employs about 600 persons, and it is claimed that none of them are children under twelve. Probably 15 per cent. of the employees are between twelve and thirteen years old.

In this connection it should be understood that after they are twelve years old, boys and girls in the cotton mill district, are not looked upon as children, but as full-grown men and women.

They commence work so young, and their lives are so hard, that by the time they are twelve they are supposed to be able to take care of themselves and fight their own battles. This condition is so generally accepted, that no proposed legislation aims to do more than keep children under twelve out of the mill.

The King mill in this city employs 1,200 people, of whom at least 400 are children less than fourteen years old. At least 100 of the children appear to be not over ten or eleven.

The Shibley mill joins the King, and employs about 800 persons, nearly 300 of whom are children. Of the 150 children in the spinning room, about 100 are less than 15 and 40 between ten and twelve.

Near all these mills is a place called the "Shelter Arms," where mothers may leave their babies to be cared for, at a charge of 2 cents a day, while they toil in the mills. Twenty-five to forty babies a day are cared for in each such place.

In the Payne, Manchester & Bibb No. 2 mills, at Macon, and the Enterprise and Western Mills, at Columbus, there are fewer children who appear to be under twelve. Public sentiment in those cities has done something to eradicate the evil, and grown up labor can be more readily secured at but little greater cost. However, there is the usual percentage of children between twelve and fifteen.

Things are quite different in the mills at Atlanta. Not ten per cent. of the children can read or write.

One little fellow named Oscar Rogers said he was twelve years old and had been working in that and other mills for five years. He only knew it was that long because his mother had told him so. He proudly said he could spell his name, and spelled it "O-S-K-E-R." He could not spell his last name, but said the first letter of it was "R."

The Exposition Company has 800 employees, of whom 275 are children from ten to fourteen, while 40 are under thirteen. As is the rule throughout the State, they are paid 10 cents a day for one side of a frame, which is all that many of them can operate. It is liberal to put the average wage of children at 25 cents a day.

The Exposition mill is surrounded by a high board fence, just outside of which are the cheap little two and three-roomed shacks that are rented to the mill workers for \$1.50 to \$2.50 a month.

Charles D. Tuller, Secretary-Treasurer of the Exposition Mills, says conditions have recently been much improved. To the suggestion that the owners if they were inclined to be fair and sincere it would seem to be good policy for them to assist in passing a law prohibiting the employment of children under twelve he replied:

"Never will such a law be enacted in this State. We have educated the legislators to know there is no necessity for it. We know it would simply be the entering wedge. The next thing, we would have a State officer sticking his nose into our affairs, and then the walking delegate. No, sir. We will have none of it."

If one stands at the rate of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill in Atlanta, at 5:30 in the morning just as the big bell is calling the employees to work, he may see the children come running over the fence from ground floor cheerless cabins, many of them barefooted and all thinly clad. The mill employs 1,400 persons, of whom 400 are small children.

An indiscriminate questioning will not find one who can read or write.

In this mill every applicant for employment signs a contract that in case of injury in the mill the company will not be held responsible. Parents or guardians sign for minors, and it is a rare thing to see anything more than "his mark."

An ex-foreman of one of the mills gave figures showing the wages for two full weeks in a large spinning room, where most of the children are employed. The total amount was \$580. Twenty-three of the employees, including the foreman, and others of the best paid hands received \$244.80.

The remaining \$335.20 was divided among 117 persons, who received an average of \$1.43 a week.

Notwithstanding this condition there is little except a sentimental opposition

against the employment of children younger than twelve years. The opposition movement is largely engineered by preachers. The labor organizations throughout the State are the tail to the preacher's kite. Capitalism here, Minerva like is springing into being fully developed. Even the most ignorant of the workers realize that the antiquated pure and simple union cannot for an instant cope with it. Then again the wages are so low that there is no field for the gang whose idea of a labor organization is the high dues on which they fatten.

"THE CHINESE MUST GO!"

New Issue of the California "Labor" Party.

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 24.—The anti-Chinese agitation is redounding to the benefit of the so-called labor party here. As will be remembered the labor party was the outcome of the teamsters' strike here last summer, which so disastrously tied up the industries of San Francisco. The demands of the strikers were considered so radical and their conduct so inexcusable, that many Republican office-holders, thinking that the strike would easily be broken and have no effect on politics, came out boldly against the strike and in criticism of its leaders. Congressman Metcalf of California, when on a visit to Washington at the time expressed himself vigorously on the subject of the strike. But the labor fakirs went into politics and elected their candidate for Mayor of San Francisco. While Mayor Schmitz, who by the way is as much a labor man as is Mark Hanna, has not done anything to antagonize capital, yet his success at the polls has given an impetus to the State organization of his party and the old time politicians are alarmed as the work of organization proceeds. There is loud and long denunciation of the politicians, who abandoned their policy of not antagonizing voters for having so openly opposed the strike.

For its continued existence this so-called labor party must have a popular issue and Chinese exclusion just fills the bill.

The more conservative capitalists of California say they have no objection to the re-enactment of the Geary Law; which they claim has been tested as to its constitutionality and which is in harmony with the existing Gresham treaty. The acceptance of this measure by the people at large would mean the death of the "labor" party. The leaders took alarm and getting together they drafted a drastic exclusion act which Congress is not likely to pass. They then started an agitation in favor of it and sent agitators to the East.

The A. F. of L. and other bodies passed resolutions by the yard calling on Congress to do this, that and the other in order to question of Chinese exclusion. Delegates were sent to Washington to present the "labor" bill. The California members, with the exception of Lord, fell over one another in their eagerness to become its champions. This at first disconcerted the "labor" party. They had bargained for opposition.

The "labor" party is very anxious for immediate Congressional action on the Chinese exclusion question. They want an issue for the fall campaign. Now, if the bill fails to pass they can go before the voters and say: "See what kind of Representatives you have; they could not get through the legislation that you want. Send genuine friends of labor to Washington and they will pass a bill compelling every Chinese to work with his hands tied behind his back." It is an open secret that the "labor" party hopes their bill will not pass. To have it pass and its constitutionality come up later would deprive them of their issue.

Whether they will be aided or knocked out by Congressional action depends on what the capitalists here want done. The fruit growers, railroad companies, and others want the Chinese. They would let down the bars entirely. The Chinese are faithful and diligent workers. What is coming may be inferred from the tone of the press throughout the State. The State's indebtedness to the Chinese is being pointed out. Without the Chinese it is said the great transcontinental roads would have been long in building. The State and the white workmen could not be in the "prosperous" condition they are to-day if it had not been for Chinese labor. Other great projects await their patient industry. The Chinese danger to American labor has been much exaggerated. The Chinese are as useful to California as the Italian is to the Eastern States. These are a sample of the arguments advanced by those who want the Chinese. Chinese exclusion legislation in the present Congress will have to pursue a tortuous course in order to avoid an outbreak against the Asiatic in California politics.

Freight Trolley Scheme.

Wheeling, W. Va., Feb. 27.—Theodore Neff, of Bellaire, O., is negotiating with Pittsburgh and Philadelphia capitalists and expects to form a company at once to build a line between Bellaire and Marietta, O., a distance of 90 miles, and lines between Clarinton, O., and Powhattan, O., 15 miles, Bellaire and Barnesville, 28 miles, and Bellaire and St. Clairsville, 12 miles. The proposed bridge between Bellaire and Benwood, W. Va., it is expected, will be used by the new company, which will thus get an entrance into Wheeling. The Ohio river front road will tap one of the most fertile districts in the valley, and it is proposed to make the track heavy enough for freight trains propelled by electricity. Rights for a considerable distance along the main line are assured. The capital of the company will be \$10,000,000.

A MODERN RUSSIAN DRAMA.

Change the Names of the Russian Actors, And You Have the Play Americanized Up To Date.

The below article is taken from the Hamburg, Germany, "Socialist Echo." It gives an account of the influences that are corrupting and demoralizing the Russian Labor Movement by reason of the starting of pure and simple Trades Unions and Benefit Funds under the name of "Social Democratic Party," under the auspices of police officers, and with the assistance of "labor leaders" and Professors or "Intellectuals." The article is "rich." It is "rich," not only in the information it imparts on Russia, but also and especially so in that it illuminates the situation in America. Put in place of Zubatow, the Moscow Police Officer who is engineering this Russian Trades Union Movement, the name of Hanna or of any of the other Spiked-Police-Club capitalists on the "Industrial Peace Commission"; put in place of the Russian Labor Leader Michael Asanajew, the name of Sam G. Pers; put in the place of the Russian Professor Manulow; the name of Sprague Smith; put in the place of the expression, "Russian revolutionists without sound convictions," the designation known in America as "Tired-out Socialists and 'Alte Genossen';" put in the place of Sazonow, the agent whom Zubatow puts in charge of the small fry of American Labor Fakirs with capitalist political jobs; put in the place of the Russian "Instructors," who furnish Zubatow's Unions with lectures, the name of George Gunton, Hugh McGee or any other such; put in the place of the Russian term "Police Spy" the American term "Labor Lieutenant of the Capitalist Class"; do this, and you will not know that the article was originally intended to describe things in Russia; so completely does it fit things in America. This is the article:

For some time the Russian and Polish Socialist press has been following with considerable concern the development of the so-called Social Democratic party of Russia, to other with its organ "Labor Thought." It was openly recognized that the pure and simple economic tendencies of the Social Democratic party of Russia would have for their result the leading of the workmen who are under its influence away from political issues. This fact remained no secret to the Russian Police, and it utilized the "economic" feelings that were awakened in the masses to the end of breaking off the sharp point of the labor movement against the government. The Moscow Police Officer Zubatow distinguished himself especially in this work. So to say, Zubatow had already a record for success in his efforts to complete the demoralization and corrupt the Labor Movement. The London "Przedniest" now gives a number of details upon the work of this cunning Police Officer in his work of developing what is being called the "legal Labor Movement."

The policy of Zubatow and followers is to convince the workmen that the despotic government of Russia has no objection whatever to the ECONOMIC STRUGGLE which the workmen conduct against manufacturers and employers; and that the government is even ready to sustain the workmen in their struggle for better conditions. But they should confide in the "good will" of the government, and abandon all thought of a political struggle. Among those who had already been so demoralized by the agitation of the "Economists" that their thoughts

did not rise above the questions of hours of work and wages, the views of Zubatow found many followers. This happened all the more readily, seeing that Zubatow himself appears in the role of a "friend and protector of the workmen." Indeed, his conduct was singular. He treated the prisoners very gently; he allowed them to exchange their opinions freely; he furloughed imprisoned students for their examinations;—in one word he stood out, not as a policeman, but as a friend of the prisoners. And he obtained his object. Those "revolutionists" who lacked sound convictions looked upon the sly servant of the Czar as a true friend, and they followed his advice on the "legalization" of the Labor Movement. In this way many of them carried out the plans of Zubatow.

Among the workmen in Moscow the plan sprang up—of course not without the secret support of the agents of Zubatow—to establish "legal" Benefit Funds for workmen in the mechanical industries to help them in their struggle against exploitation. And thus we have lived to see the spectacle that the government, which otherwise quickly annihilated every symptom of active life in society now began to allow the holding of large public mass meetings, in which, under the chairmanship of some instructor, discussions were conducted not alone in the matter of Labor Benefit Funds, but also on the general condition of the workmen, on the exploitation of labor power, on the dishonest inspection of factories, and so forth. Of course not a word was allowed on politics. At the head of the Moscow organization, whose by-laws the government rapidly indorsed, stands a workman by the name of Michael Asanajew. This man had participated in 1894 in the Socialist agitation; he was a member of the "Society for the Emancipation of the Working Class"; he was arrested, and during his examination he was completely "converted" by Zubatow. Now he declares everywhere that "Legality" is his motto, and that the Prussian movement would shipwreck on its "illegal" course. According to the by-laws of the Moscow organization, a Police Officer must always be present at the meetings. In this character Sazonow, an assistant of Zubatow's always turns up. He makes very speeches on the needs of the workmen, he shakes the workmen by the hand, etc. The workmen are pleased and feel flattered to see reports of their meetings in the newspapers, and to find themselves treated politely. The desire has "manifested itself" in many other branches of industry to have similar unions. Zubatow agitates among the imprisoned revolutionists, and sends many of them from the prison to the meetings of the Union. It is interesting to watch how among the professors of the Moscow University zealous supporters of Zubatow are bobbing up. Among these Professor Manulow recently stated in the course of a lecture to the students: "There are now no longer any Peoples' parties, no longer any Marxists; there is now only one Social political movement which aims at improvement of the condition of the workmen and the whole people on the basis of the existing political order."

Needless to say, that the growing influence of Zubatow and his policy in the ranks of the workmen throws up great difficulties in the way of Socialist propaganda.

WEAVERS MAY STRIKE.

Fall River, Mass., March 2.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fall River Manufacturer's Association this afternoon the Secretary was instructed to send a letter to the Textile Council and to the weavers notifying them that their letter requesting a 10 per cent. advance in the wages has been received and that a meeting of the Manufacturer's Association will soon be called when a further reply will be made.

The individual opinions of the members of the committee seem to be that the 6 per cent. increase is as much as they could afford to give. Unless some satisfaction can be given by the manufacturers, the labor men predict a series of small strikes at various mills similar to the one now in progress at Sagamore Mill No. 1.

Lawrence, Mass., March 2.—About 150 weavers from the Atlantic Mills were present at a meeting this afternoon, and after a long discussion it was decided to let matters stand as they are at present until correspondence between the National Textile Council and the officials of the mills results in a satisfactory settlement of the question at issue. Local labor leaders say they believe there will be no strike, as National Union men do not appear to favor it.

Granite Quarrymen Strike.

Quincy, Mass., March 2.—Four hundred granite quarrymen struck here yesterday because of the refusal of the quarry owners to accede to the demands of the men for an eight-hour day with nine hours pay, and weekly payments.

His success in Moscow has induced Zubatow to try his hand in other places also. Accordingly he offers the discharge of the imprisoned Socialists who pledge themselves to agitate in their respective provinces. In this way agitation has been conducted several months in Yekaterinow, likewise in Iwanow, Wozniensk. It is announced a Union after the pattern of the Moscow concerns will be established in Mikokajew. In Caryein the Governor is promoting the same plans. In short it is evident that a system is being introduced by the Governor which will operate on parallel lines with the punishments which the Governor inflicts upon the genuine revolutionists.

One of the most successful strokes of Zubatow has been the establishment of an "Independent Jewish Labor Party" in Minsk (Lithuania). The manifesto of the new party which very strongly assails the well-known "Jewish Workmen's Association," says among other things that the new party rejects the political struggle on the ground that "the political struggle does not concern the proletarian masses." In another place it declares: "The 'Independent Jewish Labor Party' aims at the material and intellectual uplifting of the Jewish proletariat by means of educational industrial organizations (which are legal or illegal according to circumstances). The practical results aimed at are, first, the development of broad trades unions, benefit funds, clubs, associations; second, the quickening of science and of a collective education of the working class. The party sets up no political aims, and concerns itself with political questions only in so far as these are required by the running-interests of the working class."

"Iskra," ("The Spark"), the Russian Socialist organ, comments extensively upon the complete demoralization that now reigns in Minsk, and upon the policy of Zubatow in general, and closes with the statement: "It is the agitation of the 'Economic Socialists' that has prepared the ground for these police sleights of hand."

The "Echo" closes its review with these words: "The new movement is nothing more nor less than a barrier against Socialism; it contemplates the demoralization and disintegration of the Labor Movement. The government has often shown that it sticks at no means whereby to corrupt the revolutionary movement. At the time of the 'Narodnaja Wolja,' the celebrated Russian terrorist society, Segajin, a spy who has since been killed, gave money to several revolutionists, who he knew would pass the money over to the party. He nevertheless obtained his object. In the circles which he corrupted with his gold, it was soon impossible to tell who was Police agent and who was an honest man. The efforts of Zubatow are all the more dangerous as they contemplate the organization of a mass movement which is wholly harmless for the reason that it is governed, at least is controlled, by spies; and which moreover, is all the harder to combat by honorable workmen seeing that it is under the special protection of the authorities."

"Our comrades in Russia and Lithuania have before them the heavy task of combatting and destroying this police-inspired 'Labor Movement.' Let us hope that they, in the interest of the proletariat class movement will be able to get this demoralization and corruption under control."

THE WEAVERS' STRIKE.

Alliance Men Hold Down the Woolen Trust.

Providence, R. I., Feb. 27.—After four weeks of effort on the part of the Woolen Trust to break the textile strike, the situation here remains unchanged as yet. Of the strikers out in four big mills here only about twenty-five have gone back to work. Under the generalship of the S. T. & L. A. the weavers are standing firm.

The trust has been unable to spring any surprises or disconcert the strikers or those managing the strike. The Alliance men are ever on the alert and the strikers are being instructed daily just what the strike means and how class conscious workmen should act.

The strike agitation is being carried on throughout New England. McDonald and Lee, who are on the road, report good meetings, and out of the agitation will come S. T. & L. A. organization in many places they have visited. Outside of Rhode Island, where both breeds are practically unknown, there is great opposition by the Social Democrats and the pure and simple or old time trades unionists. In the end their opposition redounds to the benefit of the S. T. & L. A.; for in attacking the Alliance they but advertise it, and the workers then want to hear the Alliance speakers.

If you are getting this paper without having ordered it, do not refuse it. Someone has paid for your subscription. Renew when it expires.

"UNION" OPERA BOUFFE.

Chicago Union Celebration Ousts a Piano.

Chicago, Feb. 28.—The doings of the pure and simple trades unionists here would furnish material for many an opera bouffe. One incident that furnished lots of merriment to the capitalist press of Chicago was as follows:

A nonunion piano brought to an abrupt stop a meeting at the Chicago Federation of Labor Hall at 187 Washington street last Sunday. The proceedings were suspended while the presiding officer appointed a special committee and had the unwelcome instrument removed from the hall. This interfered slightly with the musical programme, but the cause of the union label was vindicated.

It was an entertainment given in celebration of the first anniversary of the formation of the Truck Drivers' Union, and the large hall was crowded to the doors with members and their friends. The W. W. Kimball Company had, probably on request—donated the use of one of its finest pianos for the occasion, and it occupied a conspicuous place on the platform. Professor J. J. McGee's orchestra had played some introductory number, accompanied by the mellow tones of the handsome instrument. Hugh McGee, president of the Truck Drivers' Union, then introduced James H. Payne, president of the Illinois State Union Label League, who was to make the principal address.

Payne is an "ardent" advocate of the union label on every article used by union men. His first words called attention to the fact that the piano being used in the entertainment did not bear the union label. He said he did not believe it right that in an entertainment given by union men the union musicians who composed the orchestra should be asked to play upon a non-union piano when there were plenty of union-made instruments on the market.

A number of members jumped to their feet to make a motion that the piano be taken out of the hall. The motion prevailed without a dissenting voice, and the heavy instrument was taken carefully from the hall into an ante-room. The officers of the "union" explained to Mr. Payne that the courtesy of the Kimball Company had been accepted without stopping to consider that the piano did not bear the "union" label.

T. Murphy of the stockyards was announced to sing "When the Harvest Days Are Over, Jessie Dear," at the close of the address of Mr. Payne. He was disconcerted at first without the piano for an accompaniment. He sang, however, and was recalled several times. President Thomas F. Kennedy of the Chicago Federation of Musicians gave a cornet solo.

Another pure and simple idiosyncrasy was the appointing of a committee by the Building Material Trades Council, to wait upon the city Board of Health and protest against conditions in the Stromberg-Carlson Telephone Manufacturing Company factory at Jackson boulevard and Clinton street. It was claimed that twelve workmen who took the places of the striking metal polishers and brass molders were compelled to sleep on cots in the factory and that the place is most unsanitary for the purpose. The metal dust which abounds is said to get into the pores of the workers and cause the "copper itch." President Morton and Secretary Deutsch were the committee from the council to act in conjunction with Business Agent Andrew J. Becker of the Metal Polishers and Business Agent A. E. Johnson of the Brass Molders. This concern for the health of "scabs" is certainly unique in the comic history of trades unionism. The strike at the Stromberg-Carlson plant was indorsed by the council.

The "no politics in the union" gang are forever dabbling in politics. The Building Material Trades Council appointed a legislative committee to watch the city council, the county commissioners' sessions and the State Legislature, and to push any legislation that it deemed of benefit to labor men.

Representatives of the Soda and Mineral Water Bottlers' Union and of their employers met to plan a campaign against the nonunion manufacturers of bottled goods. Alex. Obert, John Atkinson and Thomas McMahon represented the unions, and John Hessler, William Failing and William Mulvihill the employers.

The blacksmiths are planning a campaign of organization and plans for the proposed strike in conjunction with the machinists in May. National President John Slocum and National Secretary Robert Kerr of the blacksmiths, and Hugh Doran and D. W. Roderick of the machinists, made addresses. One would think that with the machinists' fiasco of last year they would be reluctant to enter on another strike this year. But of such is pure and simple unionism.

Chicago, March 2.—The labor fakirs are taking a hand in the contest for the Democratic nomination for alderman in the Thirtieth ward. James G. Hannahan, business agent of the Hoisting Engineers' union, is their candidate, and a meeting was held at Lake Hall, 315 Root street, to indorse his candidacy.

Among the labor fakirs who spoke at the meeting were James H. Bowman, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Herman Lilien, president of the Hod Carriers' Union; James H. Payne, president of the Box Makers' Union; Louis Seegerbarth, business agent of the German Hod Carriers' Union; Stewart Reid, George Lighthall and L. P. Handing.

In announcing his candidacy, Hannahan said: "If it requires hundreds or thousands of dollars to win I am going

A WARNING.

A "LABOR LEADER" WITH A LONG AND TYPICAL RECORD.

Trying to Trick the Varnishers' Union Out of Its Treasury—Work Was That of a Skilled Hand—Record of the Men Concerned.

Through the efforts of the Building Trades Council last year the Progressive Varnishers' Union was forced to disband and join the Amalgamated Painters' Union. In special meeting assembled the Progressive Varnishers' Union adopted a resolution to disband and divide the fund of \$2,400 amongst the members of the union in good standing. George A. McVeigh, the president of the union, however, saw fit to refuse to put such a motion and also refused to entertain an appeal claiming the meeting had adjourned and his aide de camp, Recording Secretary Robert McManus, packed up his books and walked out and away.

Our members, dumbfounded at such an action on the part of the officers, saw clearly that they had a scheme to play the whole fund in the hands of a few and then divide it.

Shortly after the above meeting took place all the members who were believed to have joined the Amalgamated Painters' Union were summoned before a committee called the "good and welfare committee" to defend charges for violation of the constitution—having joined another organization. It is in place to state here that the gentlemen composing said committee were five in number, four of whom were not even good standing members, but took upon themselves the power to judge members in good standing and expel the same. The illegally expelled members brought a law suit in the Superior Court and Judge Scott decided the case as it was expected—in favor of the members—who each received his share of the money. "Honorable" George A. McVeigh's scheme was to root out of the union all members but a few, and then divide the union fund among themselves, and had the gentlemen succeeded then each one would have gotten from \$250 to \$500, a very old and interesting one. Early even to Superior Judge Scott who in his decision states that it was a plain attempt to defraud the members of the union of their money, while these men brought charges against other members for joining another union, and suspended them for it, they, themselves, have since joined the Brotherhood of Painters. They did not dare to join the Amalgamated, where all the other members already belonged.

The fellows who deserve particular publicity in connection with this matter are George A. McVeigh, president; Robert McManus, Secretary; Charles Brown, Dennis O'Connell and—Gagel—we warn the Brotherhood of Painters, against them, and more particularly against George A. McVeigh. His career in the New York labor movement is a very old and interesting one. Early in the eighties George A. McVeigh appeared in the old Central Labor Union as a "Progressive" delegate for the United Piano Workers. Later on he represented the same body which did NOT EXIST ANY LONGER in the now moribund "Central Labor Federation"—was three years treasurer of the same and when detected, declared that he only represented himself and as no dues were paid for nearly three years he was compelled to give up the treasurership. When the trustees called upon him to account, "Comrade" McVeigh produced a number of bills but stated that he had kept no account books. When that happened Kangaroo August Waldinger was financial secretary and Ernest Bohm recording secretary, the same men who today figure so gracefully in the Central Federated Union. It was that little "triangle" that did it. McVeigh being placed outside the labor movement for the time being, quickly joined the Varnishers' Union. He did not dare to join the Independent Piano Makers' Union. In the Varnishers' Union he played the old game of a "Socialist" whenever practical as in former years, but always managed to take good care of the interest of that little Long Island landlord George A. McVeigh. George A. McVeigh is today the same as his old time companions, August Waldinger and Ernest Bohm, Kangaroo Social Democrats. Varnishers and painters, look out for these men.

An old timer and members of the late Varnishers' Union.

for I haven't any money to spend, either to secure the nomination or election. We have had good men to represent this ward in the council, but, if elected, I shall faithfully work for the best interests of the ward as well as in trying to secure for my fellow workmen his just rights."

John J. Bradley, former chief of the stock yards police, and J. P. Reardon are also trying to wrest the Democratic nomination from Alderman Charles J. Boyd, the present incumbent. Bradley resigned his position at the head of the stock yards police, so confident has he become that he will receive the nomination. He says that his only opponent of any consequence is Alderman Boyd, and that he would be strong at the primaries on March 8.

Alderman Boyd claims to be equally confident of the nomination.

WAYLAND THE "SOCIALIST"

The Editor of the "Appeal to Reason" Says He Is Going To Knock the Life Out of the Socialist Labor Party.

A FEW INTERESTING FACTS IN HIS HISTORY.

More Light On His Rascality in Connection With the Ruskin Colony—

The State's Evidence Given By Edwards in 1894—While Running a Paper at Greensburg, Ind., Wayland Fleeced His Employees for the "Sake of Humanity"—To-day He Is Crying Aload Against "Bossism." While in 1894 He Said That If the Ruskinites Did Not "Co-Operate" According to Wayland's Idea of "Co-Operation" He Would Get Control of the Colony and Have Them Work for Him, Or Put Them Out—"Bossism" Is All Right If Wayland Is the Boss.

Numerous requests have reached this office lately for an account of J. A. Wayland, and his "Appeal to Reason." In THE PEOPLE for July 16, 1899, Julian Pierce gave a review of the career of Wayland to that date. That article is herewith reproduced, heads and all. It is a careful study of the career of a fakir and a knave, and is recommended to those who are still disciples of the "Appeal to Reason."

Since the article was written, more than two years ago, a few minor developments have taken place. The Ruskin Colony moved to Georgia, led a precarious existence there for a few months, and then died. The "Coming Nation" died with it. Edwards, who is mentioned in the article, juggled the "Social Democrat" for awhile, then moved it to Milwaukee, where, as "The Social Democratic Herald" it still receives contributions from Edwards, who occupies a subordinate position on its staff. As for Wayland, he has reached the crowning point in his infamous career, and his "Appeal to Reason" is now an ardent supporter of the "Socialist Party," armories and all.—Editor of THE PEOPLE.]

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States has, for its mission the capture of the political power for the purpose of by that political power, revolutionizing capitalist government and putting in its place Socialist Administration. We maintain that this revolution must be brought about by the manual and mental workers, and that the fundamental step towards a union of the working class must be to base ourselves on the rock of class-consciousness—that is, to understand that the interests of the working class are violently antagonistic, and that all reforms like municipal ownership of industries will result in no good to the proletariat so long as the capitalist class controls the machinery of government. Teaching the principles of the Socialist Revolution is a delicate work, and should be conducted by the superior sense of the collective thought of the political party entrusted with the task. This is why the Socialist Labor Party advances as one of the salient principles of its organization that the Party papers must be under the control of the Party, and that the Party shall have at all times the right to determine the editorial policy of its papers. And a man who will not agree to that principle is unworthy the support of Socialists, and his name is a disgrace on the lips of Socialists.

A "Free Press" Wanted. This policy of the Party has at times been bitterly attacked by men whose ability to gather in the dollars and cents of the working class has been hampered thereby. They have cried for a "free press," meaning by that term that anyone who can use a fountain pen shall have the right to come into the press of the party and offer up his efforts at teaching the proletariat. In the last four years, two of these papers have come into prominence: the "Coming Nation" and the "Appeal to Reason." The "Coming Nation" is now in the hands of a receiver, so it need not be considered here. The "Appeal to Reason" is still alive, and it is the purpose of this article to puncture the skin of its vitality.

The "Appeal to Reason" is owned and edited by J. A. Wayland, of malodorous reputation in connection with the Ruskin colony. At various times during the last two years, THE PEOPLE has taken articles written by Wayland and shown that they possessed neither scientific clearness nor economic accuracy. This, daring to analyze Wayland's articles and show that his brain matter is clogged, has each time wounded his egoism, and he has said many ungentlemanly and untruthful things about THE PEOPLE in particular, and the Socialist Labor Party in general. Lately, socialist organizations in the Middle West, some of which have given the "Appeal to Reason" a little support, have discovered masses of Wayland's economic fallacies and have been passing resolutions condemning his paper. Wayland knows that if this keeps up, he is a dead duck, so he unheeded his little dirk and starts out after gore.

Politicians always assert that everything they advocate is advocated in the interest of the working class, and that they, themselves, are not looking for anything. They are always moved by motives so high that the humble pretensions of Jesus of Nazareth pale into insignificance. Even the Sherman Anti-Trust Bill was drawn up and made a law for no other purpose than to curb the rapacity of the trusts, while the only effective purpose for which it has been used is as a club to beat the life out of labor unions. Thus Wayland, in the "Appeal to Reason" for July 1, 1899, says, in referring to a column of his diatribe against the Socialist Labor Party:

"I want it understood that I have no quarrel with the great body of members of the S. L. P. They have been my friends in the past, and are to-day. But the bosses have been steadily trying to drive me from my chosen work for humanity, a field that I work in without money and without price, and with no hope or desire of material reward."

The statements made in the paragraph quoted are very ridiculous. Wayland

In this article he will be put on the witness stand to tell what he knows regarding the prisoner in the dock—J. A. Wayland.

When Wayland started the "Coming Nation" he resorted to a trick that the fakir always resorts to—he tried to gather around him one or two men who had obtained more or less prominence through their connection with other labor organizations. About that time in the Northwest, notably in Minnesota, the Populist party had taken on the aspect of being more or less of a workingman's party, and the Knights of Labor and many of the trades unions were pushing it for all it was worth. The Populist party had also absorbed all the visionaries the land possessed, and was looked upon by many as the torch that was to guide the oppressed out of the wilderness of the oppressors. Among these visionaries with more or less of a reputation, was A. S. Edwards; and the "Coming Nation" had not been in existence very long before Wayland got him, and, according to dwards, got him to exploit him.

Edwards Gives State's Evidence.

Soon after the first enthusiasts took hold of the colony scheme, some one smelled a rat; then others smelled the same rat; and then others, till the smell became so strong that some of those who smelled it could stand it no longer, and withdrew from the affair. Among the withdrawals were A. S. Edwards, one David Coates, and one Ed. E. Merritt. Shortly after his withdrawal from the band of visionaries bound for heaven by the backwoods of Tennessee, Edwards returned to Greensburg, and on Saturday, August 11, 1894, issued the first number of "Freeland," which, according to Editor Edwards, perceived "an ideal social organization, and for the purpose of attaining that ideal in practice, it will urge the people to affiliate with and support the People's party." "Freeland" was a five-column, four-page paper, and over a page of the first issue was devoted to an article with the following suggestive head and introduction:

A Story That Had to Be Told

Why Some of "The BOYS" Got Tired of Co-operation That Didn't Co-operate.

Reply to Numerous Letters Received.

Charges Made Against Former Co-operators Proven to Be False—A Dozen Good and Sufficient Reasons Given For Their Withdrawal from the Ruskin Colony Enterprise—How Labor Was Treated.

"Thinks't thou there are no serpents in the world, But those who slide along the grassy sod And sting the luckless foot that presses them? There are who in the path of social life, Do bask their spotted skins in fortune's sun, And sting the soul."

"So wrote Joanna Baillie when characterizing deceit. The fate of those who practise deception is to be forced from one expedient to another, until they are entangled in a web from which it is impossible to extricate themselves. [Edwards is here alluding to Wayland.] And the victims of deception too often themselves become involved in the meshes spun by the human spider, that seeing no way out they give themselves up as prey to the influences surrounding them, and through fear of exposing their own weakness, or, as they suppose, incurring a cause or principle which they hold dear, remain quiet. Others, on the contrary, having in the path of life, met the human serpent and felt its sting, [this is certainly hard on Wayland] are strong enough to see that weakness lies, not in yielding to deception, but in resisting and exposing it, and that no good cause can be harmed by 'scotching the snake.' The purpose of this article is not to injure but to help the reform movement. The writer of it is the editor of 'Freeland.' He has been an active and aggressive advocate of the principles of the People's party since 1887. Formerly a resident of Minnesota, he canvassed that State in 1890, when Sidney M. Owen, editor of the 'Farm, Stock and Home,' was candidate of the Alliance party for Governor, and again in 1892, when Hon. Ignatius Donnelly was nominated by the People's party for the same office, and was a delegate in the first national convention at Omaha. If in view of the statement of facts he is about to make, any friends of the reform movement or of co-operation in the United States desire to make inquiries about him, they are referred to the above-named gentlemen. Mr. Owen is this year the candidate of the reform forces of Minnesota for Governor, his address is Wright Block, Hennepin avenue, Minneapolis. Mr. Donnelly is editor of the 'Representative,' Minneapolis, and letters addressed in care of that paper will reach him. The writer also refers for information as to his loyalty to, and persistence in advancing the principles he still advocates."

He, Too, Worked for Love.

Here Edwards prints a paragraph of the names and addresses of Minnesota Populist politicians, and closes his diatribe with the following significant reference and quotation: and finally to A. J. Wayland, of the "Coming Nation," who in the issue dated May 12, 1894, said of the writer:

"Brother Edwards, my associate [at that time Edwards carried the rather cumbersome title of 'Associate Editor' of the 'Coming Nation'] who writes the letters, the clippings, and writes several columns weekly that bear his initials, does not do it for money. [Samuel Gompers ought certainly to join this galaxy, for we have been told that he sacrificed his whole life in the interests of labor.] He could draw the same salary and do none of these things. But his soul, like mine, is in the work, and he does it because he loves it. And he does most excellent work. He could not do it so well if he did not love it, even if he were paid four times his present salary as a printer. Ten thousand a year could not find me a better complement to my ideas than Mr. Edwards."

Edward's ethical nature was so sensitive that he could not resist disclaiming any attempt at self-adulation by reprinting such an odoriferous bouquet of words as that, and he gives the disclaimer as follows:

"This personal reference is not made to obtrude the writer's personality upon our friends, but rather to make it easy for all interested parties to satisfy themselves as to what degree of probability ought to be attached to certain charges made against him, which will be considered further on."

Thus caught the ear of A. S. Edwards, hundreds of miles away, and one bleak and dreary winter morning the second week in January, 1894, he walked into Wayland's sanctum at Greensburg. Edwards tells of his experience in this thrilling manner:

"He entered with zeal upon the discharge of his duties both as printer and contributor to the columns of the paper. He looked forward to a life in the colony with pleasure; he expected to aid in building up the town of Ruskin—which he named—under the by-laws of the Ruskin Co-operative Association, which he wrote. He was made foreman in the office by the boys, and always had and still retains, so far as he knows, the respect of everybody connected with the office, with one exception. He has never exerted himself to win the respect of shallow upstarts or arrogant hypocrites. He had only his labor, his zeal, his love for the work in which he was engaged, and does not hesitate to say that though he had a brain as dry as a biscuit after a summer's voyage, if he could have supplemented that with money, he would still be building air castles, and listening to J. A. Wayland's verbiage about co-operation. He believes that Wayland would, in his average mood, turn away from the gates of Ruskin a penniless man with the heart of Christ and the brain of Plato to make room for a natural fool with \$500 in money. The fool would not remain long, either, and when he left, would be minus his \$500, and it would be done with such protestations of 'love for man and hatred of robbers' that the evicted co-operative would feel that he was doing the cause of humanity considerable service by departing in peace. And finally he feels that not to speak out when there are questions of right and 'fair-dealing' involved—in which so many honest and confiding men are concerned—would be a gross neglect of the plainest duty, an abandonment of principles, a surrender to cant and hypocrisy."

Three considerations have impelled us to make a public statement as to the reasons for turning back when the promised land was in sight, [Edwards here refers to Ruskin, which he has recently been instrumental in putting into the hands of a receiver] and abandoning an enterprise the primary and original object of which was as dear to us as to any three co-operators in the union. These reasons are as follows:

"First—That there has at no time been, nor is there now, any promise of real co-operation under J. A. Wayland's management.

"Second—That certain wholly false and malicious charges have been made against us by J. A. Wayland or some persons closely connected with him.

"Third—That numerous letters received from friends in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Colorado, who have been among the most active workers for the 'Coming Nation,' demand, as the writers have an undoubted right to demand from somebody, an explanation of the 'trouble.'"

Fakirism Begins.

Mr. Edwards then states that he has hesitated long before acceding to these demands, but that now the time has come to speak, and that speak he will, after first giving "a few facts touching our individual relations with J. A. Wayland." The facts are certainly interesting as giving a comprehensive view of the man who is quoted at the beginning of this article as averring that he is and always has been working for humanity, and that he is cultivating the field "without money and without price." He has been cultivating the field out of the credulous for a number of years, and if the Socialist Labor Party does not proceed to garrote him, the Party itself ought to be garroted. The individual relations are given in the following touching paragraphs:

"J. C. Coates joined Wayland in June, 1893, five weeks after the publication of the first number of the 'Coming Nation.' He (Coates) affirms that the representation made to him by Wayland was that the profits of the business, would be equally divided in wages; this he did on more than one occasion, at one time declaring: 'I mean just that—the profits will be divided equally; if your share is \$100 a week, you will get \$100.' That upon this representation he (Coates) entered to work for Wayland at a low weekly wage, just enough to support himself and family, believing at the time that the profit-sharing plan would be carried into effect; that within three months from the time he began work, the business was making profits, but that he never shared in them; that as the business increased, and became more profitable, Wayland instead of sharing the profits, began to look about for some way of using the surplus, finally in November, 1893, hitting upon the scheme of a 'co-operative village.' To the new idea he (Coates) gave his adherence, and worked faithfully to insure its success. Under the new plan, he was told by Wayland repeatedly that the office plant would be common property and that in it the surplus values of his labor were being invested; but in the meanwhile, that is between the time the office began to clear expenses, and when it showed receipts largely exceeding expenditures, a company was formed and incorporated, and that 97 per cent. of the stock (100 shares at \$10 each) of the company was issued in favor of Mrs. Etta Wayland, wife of J. A. Wayland. One share of this stock was issued to said Coates; its face value was \$10, and this amount Wayland had the effrontery to pay Coates for assigning it to him in July, 1894, thirty days after declaring, in the presence of Edwards and Merritt, that the value of the 'Coming Nation' was \$100,000; Coates had by his labor and the faithful discharge of his duties made it worth that, and any man actuated by principles of justice, and made 'pure and good and wise' by the study of John Ruskin, would see to it that he got no less."

Poor Coates! His failure to get profit reminds me of a story I once heard relative to the race problem. A white man said to a negro: "Come on, colored man, let's go hunting on the catboats play." They went, and during the day bagged considerable game. At evening, when returning they came to the cross-roads where the route to their homes diverged, and the white man, who carried the game bag said: "Well, good night, colored man!" The colored man scratched his head for a second and then said: "Hold on there, white man, what part of the game do I get?"

"Oh," replied with dignity, the Caucasian, "you get the catboats." Coates got the catboats.

Wayland was at this time singing the same song about laboring for humanity's sake that he is singing to-day. Its melody caught the ear of A. S. Edwards, hundreds of miles away, and one bleak and dreary winter morning the second week in January, 1894, he walked into Wayland's sanctum at Greensburg. Edwards tells of his experience in this thrilling manner:

"He entered with zeal upon the discharge of his duties both as printer and contributor to the columns of the paper. He looked forward to a life in the colony with pleasure; he expected to aid in building up the town of Ruskin—which he named—under the by-laws of the Ruskin Co-operative Association, which he wrote. He was made foreman in the office by the boys, and always had and still retains, so far as he knows, the respect of everybody connected with the office, with one exception. He has never exerted himself to win the respect of shallow upstarts or arrogant hypocrites. He had only his labor, his zeal, his love for the work in which he was engaged, and does not hesitate to say that though he had a brain as dry as a biscuit after a summer's voyage, if he could have supplemented that with money, he would still be building air castles, and listening to J. A. Wayland's verbiage about co-operation. He believes that Wayland would, in his average mood, turn away from the gates of Ruskin a penniless man with the heart of Christ and the brain of Plato to make room for a natural fool with \$500 in money. The fool would not remain long, either, and when he left, would be minus his \$500, and it would be done with such protestations of 'love for man and hatred of robbers' that the evicted co-operative would feel that he was doing the cause of humanity considerable service by departing in peace. And finally he feels that not to speak out when there are questions of right and 'fair-dealing' involved—in which so many honest and confiding men are concerned—would be a gross neglect of the plainest duty, an abandonment of principles, a surrender to cant and hypocrisy."

Wayland As a Labor Skinner. After writing the above "personal opinions," Edwards rests a little, then dips his pen into red ink, and draws up the indictment of Wayland (who "works without money and without price") in the following pungent paragraphs:

"It has been said that one of the reasons impelling us to make this statement is that there has been at no time, nor is there now, any promise of co-operation under Wayland's management." In support of this we say—

"He altogether lacks the basis of character and education necessary to successful co-operation.

"That the kind of people he wants about him are 'slaves' to work, and 'savers' to skin."

"That he has money-mania, and with all his alluring professions in type, his confirmed love of money bars out the 'inward excellence of a virtuous mind.'"

"That his chief mental trait is plausibility and his constant aim how to appear in the right."

"That he persistently represented, in the paper to readers at a distance, and in person to visitors in the office, that the 'boys' were actually and truly part and equal owners in the business; that the plant belonged to them, when, as a matter of fact, he never intended that the 'boys' should get out of it the values, or an infinitesimal part of the values, which their labor had created. This was shown in the profit sharing chimera with Coates as a victim."

That the following editorial statement in the 'Coming Nation' for June 16 was wholly and unqualifiedly false: 'I have given the office over to the association.' There was no 'association' to 'give the office over to' except the Ruskin Co-operative Association, and the publication of this untrue statement was, we firmly believe, made to create the impression 'on the outside' that the 'office' had actually 'been turned over' to a part or the whole body of co-operators.

That this statement contained in the issue of February 24, was false, and intended to deceive and elate the co-operators: 'I have already some ten publications to start with.' He at no time, before or since, had that number of publications, except in his mind. In June, a bona fide publication, 'Ruskin Magazine,' containing 'Things As I See Them,' was issued, and of that A. S. Edwards was the originator and compiler. The brief preface to that book shows that the compiler tried to cheat himself into believing in a will-o'-the-wisp in the interest of harmony and the colony."

The above changes were certainly vivid enough to have made Wayland see stars, but Edwards is not through with him yet, and to eternally down him, he is proven an exploiter of labor and a crook generally. Listen to this charge:

"That Wayland was and is an exploiter of labor and treated many persons in the office with shameful disregard of the principles he habitually sifted into the columns of the paper. Beyond the proof of this already given, we state that Ellis Hearn, a faithful, competent, and honest young man, resident of this city, was for nearly a year employed in the press room; that he was paid \$1 a day and earned more than twice that amount; that he consented to work for that amount on the assurance given him by Wayland that he would go, to the colony—that is to say, working for the lowest living wage was the picklock to Ruskin. In the early part of June it became necessary to employ another man to do the same kind of work on which Hearn was engaged. A. E. Baumgart, of Akron, Ohio, was sent for, being told that if he had no money to 'come on a freight.' He came, went to work, and was paid \$9 a week—\$1.50 a day—with the assurance that he, too, would become a member of the colony. Time passed,

and Hearn learned that Baumgart was drawing \$3 more a week than himself for doing the same work. He complained, as was his right, and was told that the reason Baumgart got more money was that he was not going to the colony! But Baumgart carried a letter which promised him membership in the colony. We have no objection to a flea as a flea, but we do object to the business in which the pesky thing is engaged. 'Now you see it, and now you don't see it.'"

Wayland and "Bossism."

Wayland in his disreputable "Appeal to Reason" is vituperative about the officials of the Socialist Labor Party because the members of the Party insist on discipline from the ground up. Because they thus carry out the demands of the party they are "bosses." And he objects to being bossed. Edwards has given eight reasons for not liking the colony while Wayland was at the head of it, and brings the number up to twelve by adding the following four. It will thus be seen that in those days Wayland had an idea that it would be a good thing to be a boss himself, and the difficulty with the fakir is that he can't find people that will submit to his "bossism" for a very long time, because the bossism of Wayland has long fingers, and the ends of them are loaded with magnets that have an attraction for money. The concluding four charges read:

"That Wayland made the statement in the columns of the paper that those who went to the colony and performed any labor, and afterward decided to withdraw, would not 'no recourse on him or on the association.'"

"Then he declared to certain persons, residents of this city (whose names are withheld by request), that he was the sole owner of the newspaper plant; that if the people who went to Tennessee would not co-operate according to his ideas of co-operation, he would buy up the land, own the whole thing and have them work for him or get; and that this is in line with his ideas of co-operation" in Greensburg.

"That three competent and honorable men, Brothers Jno. Miller of Harrisburg, Pa., P. S. Russell of Chattanooga, Tenn., and G. K. Watt of Florida, who were among the most original and most earnest co-operators have for reasons that to them were 'good and sufficient' withdrawn from the enterprise."

"That the business was badly managed and large sums of money recklessly wasted, as shown in the purchase of a useless and cumbersome Web perfecting press that would not print."

"That last January D. C. Coates and Charles Bevan formed a partnership under the name of the Reform Literature Company, for the purpose of securing the distribution of reform papers among people unacquainted with our movement and principles. That this was done with Wayland's full knowledge and consent, and the time required to attend to it in a way infringed on the 'Coming Nation' business. But just as soon as the little business of this partnership began to show two or three dollars a week above expenses, Wayland, on the pretext that 'the other boys in the office were dissatisfied,' compelled them to turn it over to him without compensation. And we declare that no such dissatisfactions existed."

"Here are a dozen good reasons for our contention that there has been no co-operation; they range from fixed and abiding defects in character, through a cunning fertility of deceit, to perversion of truth, disloyalty to real co-operation, and bad management. Anyone of them is sufficient justification for our course in retiring. Be it understood, too, that we did retire voluntarily, after giving Wayland due notice of our intention. Notwithstanding this, he caused to be placed in our envelopes on the last pay day, a 'notice to quit.' This was another proof of his natural meanness, and a confirmation of our true estimate of his character."

The above paragraph ends the principal part of the statement of A. S. Edwards as to why A. S. Edwards, David Coates, and Ed. E. Merritt had no use for nor confidence in J. A. Wayland on the 11th day of August, 1894. We have quoted three and one-half columns of their statement; two columns of subsidiary matter remain, which may be used for the subject matter of a future article. Although A. S. Edwards, after Wayland was put out of Ruskin colony and Edwards took the helm, resorted to practically the same methods of fleecing the credulous that Wayland had used, this conduct does not invalidate the testimony he gave in August, 1894, at which time we are willing to admit he was probably as guileless as a doe. A few months with Wayland fixed him, though, and after a couple of years in the Ruskin Co-operative Association he had gotten down low enough in the scale of ethics to join the Debits in their futile effort to wreck the Socialist Labor Party. And neither does this latter course of his invalidate the testimony he gave about Wayland in 1894. Wayland had quite likely wronged him and he proceeded to tell what he knew about Wayland, and at this particular time when Wayland is boasting of his virtue and his love for humanity, and his desire for a spiritual rather than a material reward, and his consequent hatred of dollars and cents, and when these boasts are materializing anew, it is well to listen to the testimony of his business partner and associate editor of five years ago. And that testimony is given in the above extracts from "Freeland."

Read it, and then listen to this hypothesis of the "Appeal to Reason" for July 1: "The bosses of the Socialist Labor Party have been steadily trying to drive me from my chosen work for humanity, a field that I work in without money and without price, and with no hope or desire of material reward."

The Socialist Press. It may be gall to Mr. Wayland to know that the "bosses" of the S. L. P. care as much about Wayland and his "Appeal to Reason" as they do about a potato bug in Australia. The enemies of the "Appeal to Reason" are in the rank and file of the Party, and in Washington the few subscribers to the paper are, with rare exceptions, men who don't know whether Socialism is a political movement, a religious movement, or a

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new brand of ham sandwich. And so far as the members of Section Washington are concerned, we never lose an opportunity to tell others that the "Appeal to Reason" is no good and that Wayland is a fakir of the most faking sort. And this position is a wise one; for in the Socialist Movement the press is the most important machinery of the party, and the Editors of the Press are nothing more than the men who are engaged to manage the machinery. As the Press is but the machinery of the party, so the Editors are but agents of the party, and should be wholly under the control of the party. St. Louis "Labor" objected to being "dictated to" and tried to do up the Socialist Labor Party, and St. Louis "Labor" lies buried in the potters' field with not even a board to indicate its grave. The "Coming Nation" objecting to the Socialist Labor Party meddling with its nefarious business of sailing its pirate ship on the sea of the Socialist Movement, so about eighteen months ago it, too, started out to wreck the Party, and to-day the "Coming Nation" is in the hands of a receiver who will "endeavor to put it on a self-sustaining basis." And now comes Wayland and his "Appeal to Reason," with the filthy trail of his chicanery stretching after him as far back as anyone knows anything about him, with his paper spreading its economic rot wherever it goes, and he, too, starts out on the task of knocking the life out of the Socialist Labor Party. And to him we say, we are glad that at last we have smoked you out of your hole, and that about the wisest thing you can do is to put enough money in the bank to at least buy a respectable coffin after the Socialist Labor Party gets through with you, for the probability is that there won't be much more than a grease spot left of J. A. Wayland.

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"That last January D. C. Coates and Charles Bevan formed a partnership under the name of the Reform Literature Company, for the purpose of securing the distribution of reform papers among people unacquainted with our movement and principles. That this was done with Wayland's full knowledge and consent, and the time required to attend to it in a way infringed on the 'Coming Nation' business. But just as soon as the little business of this partnership began to show two or three dollars a week above expenses, Wayland, on the pretext that 'the other boys in the office were dissatisfied,' compelled them to turn it over to him without compensation. And we declare that no such dissatisfactions existed."

"Here are a dozen good reasons for our contention that there has been no co-operation; they range from fixed and abiding defects in character, through a cunning fertility of deceit, to perversion of truth, disloyalty to real co-operation, and bad management. Anyone of them is sufficient justification for our course in retiring. Be it understood, too, that we did retire voluntarily, after giving Wayland due notice of our intention. Notwithstanding this, he caused to be placed in our envelopes on the last pay day, a 'notice to quit.' This was another proof of his natural meanness, and a confirmation of our true estimate of his character."

The above paragraph ends the principal part of the statement of A. S. Edwards as to why A. S. Edwards, David Coates, and Ed. E. Merritt had no use for nor confidence in J. A. Wayland on the 11th day of August, 1894. We have quoted three and one-half columns of their statement; two columns of subsidiary matter remain, which may be used for the subject matter of a future article. Although A. S. Edwards, after Wayland was put out of Ruskin colony and Edwards took the helm, resorted to practically the same methods of fleecing the credulous that Wayland had used, this conduct does not invalidate the testimony he gave in August, 1894, at which time we are willing to admit he was probably as guileless as a doe. A few months with Wayland fixed him, though, and after a couple of years in the Ruskin Co-operative Association he had gotten down low enough in the scale of ethics to join the Debits in their futile effort to wreck the Socialist Labor Party. And neither does this latter course of his invalidate the testimony he gave about Wayland in 1894. Wayland had quite likely wronged him and he proceeded to tell what he knew about Wayland, and at this particular time when Wayland is boasting of his virtue and his love for humanity, and his desire for a spiritual rather than a material reward, and his consequent hatred of dollars and cents, and when these boasts are materializing anew, it is well to listen to the testimony of his business partner and associate editor of five years ago. And that testimony is given in the above extracts from "Freeland."

Read it, and then listen to this hypothesis of the "Appeal to Reason" for July 1: "The bosses of the Socialist Labor Party have been steadily trying to drive me from my chosen work for humanity, a field that I work in without money and without price, and with no hope or desire of material reward."

The Socialist Press. It may be gall to Mr. Wayland to know that the "bosses" of the S. L. P. care as much about Wayland and his "Appeal to Reason" as they do about a potato bug in Australia. The enemies of the "Appeal to Reason" are in the rank and file of the Party, and in Washington the few subscribers to the paper are, with rare exceptions, men who don't know whether Socialism is a political movement, a religious movement, or a

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new brand of ham sandwich. And so far as the members of Section Washington are concerned, we never lose an opportunity to tell others that the "Appeal to Reason" is no good and that Wayland is a fakir of the most faking sort. And this position is a wise one; for in the Socialist Movement the press is the most important machinery of the party, and the Editors of the Press are nothing more than the men who are engaged to manage the machinery. As the Press is but the machinery of the party, so the Editors are but agents of the party, and should be wholly under the control of the party. St. Louis "Labor" objected to being "dictated to" and tried to do up the Socialist Labor Party, and St. Louis "Labor" lies buried in the potters' field with not even a board to indicate its grave. The "Coming Nation" objecting to the Socialist Labor Party meddling with its nefarious business of sailing its pirate ship on the sea of the Socialist Movement, so about eighteen months ago it, too, started out to wreck the Party, and to-day the "Coming Nation" is in the hands of a receiver who will "endeavor to put it on a self-sustaining basis." And now comes Wayland and his "Appeal to Reason," with the filthy trail of his chicanery stretching after him as far back as anyone knows anything about him, with his paper spreading its economic rot wherever it goes, and he, too, starts out on the task of knocking the life out of the Socialist Labor Party. And to him we say, we are glad that at last we have smoked you out of your hole, and that about the wisest thing you can do is to put enough money in the bank to at least buy a respectable coffin after the Socialist Labor Party gets through with you, for the probability is that there won't be much more than a grease spot left of J. A. Wayland.

Trades' & Societies' Directory

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee, representing the Sections, meets every Sunday, 10 A. M., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., meets first Sunday of the month, 8 P. M., at 78 Springfield avenue, Newark. Corresponding Secretary Louis Cohen, 10 Everett street, East Orange, N. J. Financial

KANGAROOS FOILED.

They Try to Steal the Name of Socialist in Minneapolis and Are Knocked Out.

Minneapolis, Minn., Feb. 23.—The Kangas of Minnesota have once more shown their clear comprehension of the class struggle, by appealing to a capitalist legislature for aid in their efforts to steal the name of the S. L. P.

The election laws of Minnesota are now in a peculiar condition. Some ten years ago a law was passed providing for an official Australian ballot under which any party securing 1 per cent. of the total vote was privileged to nominate candidates in convention, certify them to the proper officer, and have their names placed on the official ballot on payment of a fee of \$5 for city or town candidates, \$10 for county candidates, \$20 for Congressional candidates in districts covering more than one county, and \$50 for State candidates. Parties polling less than 1 per cent. of the total vote could only nominate by petition, bearing a certain number of signatures. Last year a so-called Primary Law was passed, under which parties polling 10 per cent. or more of the total vote were compelled to abandon conventions and nominate their candidates by popular vote, the primaries to be held on the first day of registration of voters and under the supervision of the regular election officers. All primaries are held together, but voters are only allowed to participate in the primary of one party. Of course, they must declare their affiliation. The reason for this is obvious. It is hoped that wage slaves will be afraid to declare themselves Socialists. Also, last year, a law was passed providing that no party should be allowed to use the name of the Socialist Labor Party as a party designation, any word which formed the whole or part of the designation of any party previously existing.

So much for preamble, now for the story. The Socialist Labor Party has had candidates on the official ballot since 1896. State candidates have always had to be placed on the ballot by petition, as the party has never polled 1 per cent. of the vote of the State. But at the first election, in 1896, we secured official standing in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and in the Fifth Congressional District (Hennepin County, in which Minneapolis is located). So in 1897 we were able to nominate our local candidates without the labor of raising a petition. But we have supposed that the Primary Law would take that official recognition away from us and compel us to nominate by petition again.

The Social Democratic party put up a ticket for the first time in 1900, and polled more than 1 per cent. of the vote, thus securing official standing. But at the next session, the Legislature passed the Primary Law, shutting them out locally, but not, I suppose, on the State ticket. The Democrats were very angry at the Kangas claiming that the word "Democratic" in the Kang title had deceived many voters and caused the defeat of John Lind, the Democratic candidate for Governor. No doubt there was much ground for this; and so doubtless the Kangas got many votes intended for the S. L. P. through the confusion in the minds of voters. I know such instances. This was the cause of the enactment of the last law referred to, and this took away the State official standing of the Kangas, for it was the Social Democratic party that had the vote, and under a new name they would be regarded as a new party.

Since the Indianapolis freak convention, the local Kangas have been torn up the back as to what they should do for a name, some wishing to try to keep on under the old name and so save their standing; others realizing that as impossible, insisted on taking the name Socialist, and hoping to beat the S. L. P. out, in spite of the third law mentioned. The S. L. P. has been expecting to have to defend its right to its name in the courts and was preparing for the fight. But it came on first in a most unexpected way. The Kangas evidently realized that they were "up against it," and with the laws as they stood could hardly hope to be called either Social Democratic or Socialist. So on Tuesday last they secured the introduction in the Senate by Senator Stockwell, a Single Tax Democrat from Minneapolis, of a bill authorizing the Social Democratic party to change its name to the "Socialist party," and saving their official standing in the State. It is clear that they hoped to catch the S. L. P. napping and railroad their bill through before we knew anything about it. But after their past experience with the S. L. P. they ought to have known better. Section Minneapolis regular meeting occurred that evening, and it made a sufficient appropriation to enable the State Committee to meet the emergency without delay. Next evening the State Committee met in special session in St. Paul, and made all the necessary arrangements to oppose the bill.

The present session of the legislature is a special one, called to consider a new tax code, and general legislation is not looked on with favor. The committee on reception of bills reported the Kangas' bill, Senate File 41, together with a lot of others, for indefinite postponement, which means quick death. The report was adopted, but the Kangas managed to secure a reconsideration and had their S. F. 41 referred to the Judiciary Committee. By that time the Buzz Saw was revolving. On Thursday morning the bill was given to the committee. At noon the chairman of the committee had promised the S. L. P. committee a hearing next day at noon, at the same time with the Kangas. At noon on Friday, the State Committee, with two or three other comrades, appeared to protest against the bill, and found one Benjamin Abramovich, alias George E. Leonard, a Kang lawyer not known in New York, as the attorney for the multimillion party. The hearing was had for both sides. It would hardly be worth while to quote the arguments advanced. As a sample, however, it may be noted that Abramovich alias Leonard, who would persist in dragging in irrelevant matters, told

the committee that the S. L. P. had split three years ago because of its hostility to trades unions, manifested by the adoption of a by-law prohibiting its members from holding office in unions. I think this is the first time that act has been quoted as a reason for the alleged split, and would commend it to the consideration of other leaders of this brilliant organization as a new and wholly original addition to their battery of ammunition. The S. L. P. replied to the Kangs attack, keeping as closely as possible to the matter in hand, and contenting with a general denial of the irrelevant misstatements of the Kang attorney. A long argument was impossible, for the members of the committee were impatient to get away to their dinners, but the S. L. P. case was so plain that the result was never in doubt. The Judiciary Committee, with no delay at all, at the conclusion of the hearing, voted to again recommend the bill for indefinite postponement.

A funny thing happened during the hearing. A notorious character named Blackburn, who used to be a small-sized fakir in the twin cities until expelled from the Cigarmakers' Union, was present and tried to speak. The chairman called him down for irrelevance, the S. L. P. representative wanted to know whom he appeared for, and then the Kang also inquired. He said he appeared for the S. L. P. Of course, he was promptly and emphatically repudiated; and since then the comrades have been wondering whether the Kangs hired him to appear and make the break in the hope of injuring the S. L. P. case.

Since Thursday the Kangs have been crazy. A comrade heard some of them at their convention—they are holding what they believe is a State convention here—urging the necessity of getting some sort of a compromise with the S. L. P., and committees have been chasing the members of the State Committee even to their homes in distant parts of the city, trying to get concessions and threatening awful deeds if we don't let them have our name. But all in vain. The buzz saw is a bad thing to monkey with; they have had experience before, and if they have not had enough yet, there is still more in the magazine of the S. L. P.

Of course, we do not expect to go to sleep. If any further developments arise, they will be reported. In the meantime, I would suggest to the aggregation of many names that they can save their official standing in Minnesota without opposition from the S. L. P., and at the same time add another name to their museum of official designations by working through the legislature a bill to change their name to "Kangaroo party."

W. B. HAMMOND.

Strike in Transit Cigar Factory.

New Orleans, La., Feb. 23.—The Cuban cigarmakers, numbering 150 men, in the Hensheim branch of the American Cigar Company's factories, struck yesterday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock and walked out.

They objected to the presence of three men that were working in the factory. They demanded that the management either fire them or compel them to join the union.

W. R. Irby, the manager, told the committee that he was operating an open factory, and that it was not his mission to force men to join the union.

Upon receiving no answer, the Cubans walked out.

The factory was practically tied up the remainder of the day, and it will be impossible to operate it without skilled hands. Mr. Irby said last night that the business of the company would be transferred to its other factories; that the inability to get the desired labor in New Orleans would necessitate the transfer of the work to the Tampa and Key West factories.

The American Cigar Company is the immense concern that was recently formed, and which absorbed, among other factories, all those in the Havana-American combine. The Hensheim factory was one of those.

Since that absorption there has been other labor troubles at the local plants. The cigar packers went out, and they were never reinstated. Then there was some trouble at the storehouses.

The company has branches in Havana, Tampa, Key West, New York, Chicago, and Detroit. Mr. Irby expressed the theory that if labor could not be had here, that the cigars would have to be made where the labor could be secured.

A Slave Machine Shop.

Lowell, Mass., Mar. 1.—The employees of the Lowell Machine shop are on the verge of a strike. Mr. Shaw, who took Supt. Flather's place when the latter resigned and went to Chicago, has put time clocks in every room of the machine shop, and is holding the men to the strictest account of how they spend their time.

The men do not object to the clocks and stand ready to register when they come and leave the shop, but they do object to recording themselves at every hour's turn, making them no better than slave machines.

When the employees commence work in the morning he is compelled to register in his time. If he is called away from his machine for more than a minute, whatever the reason may be, he is obliged to ring in and register the exact time that he left his machine, also the time when he returns and furthermore he is compelled to state to a clerk, who is always in attendance, the reason for leaving his machine.

The affair is so complicated that outsiders can not believe that a factory could adopt such a slave-like method of working.

As a result of the present method, over half a dozen men were discharged last evening. It is claimed that the journeyman under the recent restrictions cannot make the former wages and further trouble will undoubtedly arise from it.

Factory Law Tabled in Senate.

Albany, Feb. 23.—The Senate met for half an hour this morning and took up what are considered the unimportant bills on its calendar.

On motion of Senator Grady the vote was reconsidered by which the Senate yesterday passed Senator Marshall's bill authorizing a woman over 21 years of age to work in a factory at night or in the day time, providing she does not work more than ten hours in any twenty-four. Senator Grady then moved that the motion lie on the table. This was adopted.

THE CONNECTICUT ANNUAL LABOR BUREAU REPORT.

Some twenty years ago Socialists all over the country exerted themselves in favor of State Labor Bureaux, which were then looked upon as steps towards Socialism, and fountains of knowledge for the working class. The fact that these bureaux depended for their creation upon the grace of capitalist legislators, and the appointment of their commissioners upon the grace of capitalist governors; the thought also that these bureaux could be turned into a weapon against the capitalist class proves conclusively how little the class struggle was then understood by the Socialists of that time.

In New Haven, Conn., the Trades Council sent at the time a committee of two Socialists to wait upon Governor Harrison, with the request that J. Frederick Bush, editor of the "Workmen's Advocate," be appointed as the first commissioner of the newly created Bureau of Labor Statistics. Governor Harrison, however, was more class-conscious than our two Socialists and he appointed Arthur T. Hadley, now President of Yale College.

This Bureau has since then published seventeen Annual Reports. It is doubtful if there are over a dozen people in all Connecticut, who have any idea what these seventeen reports contain. The establishment seems to be a feeding station for genteel politicians with a "Labor record." The list of beneficiaries has been enlarged this year; it now contains:

- A commissioner.
- A chief clerk.
- A permanent chief clerk.
- Four special agents.
- A permanent stenographer.
- A temporary stenographer.

Among this list of pensioners (for what else are they but pensioners?) are found some old acquaintances. For instance, George A. Parsons, of Hartford, at one time president of the Carpenters' Union and also president of the Connecticut State Branch American Federation of Labor. Eli Brumell, a shining light of the Hartford Cigarmakers' Union, "caught on" too. Both these gentlemen are downright haters of the Socialist Labor Party, because of its "intolerance" in such matters as the getting of jobs by individuals at the expense of the masses of the workers who are being used as voting cattle by this gentry of Labor Fakirs. Whether or not these terms are justified, let this latest report speak for itself.

On page 9, the cheerful message is transmitted to Labor, that its masters have expended not less than \$2,121,740.08 for new factory buildings which are expected to give work and bread to 5,133 of their numbers. With this noble mission before him, the commissioner makes the startling announcement that the "intelligent ingenuity and inventive faculty combined with a large amount of shrewdness and good judgment, have made Connecticut's industrial workers the highest skilled of all the skilled." Oh, ye slaves of the empire, Bay and Keystone States, please go back, away back!

The brilliancy of this literary gem of thought has so dazzled our Wooden Nutmeg commissioner (whose name is Black), that he cannot help repeating it on page 10 thusly: "No one can look over this chapter upon the articles manufactured in each Connecticut town without realizing, as never before, that Connecticut is indeed the home of the shrewd, inventive, calculating and hard Yankee, whose continued existence is necessary to maintain the present business sagacity and industrial supremacy of the nation."

For Heaven's sake, don't let Prinz Heinrich see this or he might take it into his head to steal a few of these Yankee for Wilhelm's industrial incubators!

The report goes on to say: "The chapter upon strikes and lockouts is a complete review of all labor difficulties that occurred in Connecticut between January 1, 1901, and October 30, 1901. It makes an interesting study for all connected with laboring interests, and also for students in economics. During some part of the period covered by the record 11,250 workers were idle as a result of strikes and lockouts. The total loss of time was 250,168 working days, resulting in a loss of wages amounting to \$375,252, estimating the average wage rate at \$1.50. The whole number of strikes and lockouts was 96. Forty-two were successful, eleven partially successful, and thirty-two unsuccessful. . . . The fact that most of the strikes were either wholly or partially successful demonstrates, in a measure, the strength of the labor movement, but it is significant chiefly because it accentuates the prevalent good times. . . . Without profitable business Connecticut's manufacturers could not have succeeded to these demands. . . . There should be harmony between employer and employee. Each should share prosperity and depression. Neither should handicap the other; but both should strive to maintain the present industrial position of the State and the conditions which make for the independence and manhood of its citizens." (???)

The Bureau recommends that more free public employment bureaux be established throughout the State and that "each office should be provided with at least two men, one to handle the routine office work, the other to reach employers and employees outside."

"During the five months under consideration the five offices received 5,742 applications for help, and secured 3,141 positions."

Then we read further: "A practice of overers in blackmailing employees and compelling them to pay commissions FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF EMPLOYMENT has been discovered by this bureau. This evil demands the attention of manufacturers and should be suppressed at once."

[And yet there exists a law in Connecticut which places a fine of \$50 upon such offenses.]

We read still further: "It is reported in nearly all industries that sufficient orders are now placed with the manufacturers to keep their factories in full operation for periods from six months

to one and one-half years in the various cases."

And then we read: "The average daily earnings for the year 1901 were \$1.50 as against \$1.51 in 1900. In the 684 concerns which reported both in 1900 and 1901 there were 102,806 persons employed in 1900 and 104,256 in 1901. An increase of 1.4 per cent. The plants were in operation 296 days in 1900 and 294 in 1901. The wages paid were \$46,185,080 in 1900, and \$46,032,249 in 1901, a decrease of 3 per cent."

[A lower total of wages notwithstanding a higher total of workers; accordingly, the decrease in wages was steeper than 3 per cent.]

The average earnings of each person were \$4.49 in 1900 and \$4.41 in 1901, a decrease of 1.8 per cent."

Further on we read: "The gross value of product was \$181,912,383 in 1900, and \$175,553,935 in 1901, a decrease of 3.5 per cent; the per cent. labor cost of gross value of product in 1900 was 25.4, in 1901, and 26.2 in 1900. The per cent. of expenses and profit in 1900 was 74.5, and 73.8 in 1901. It is interesting to note that labor secured a larger proportion of the amount that went into the finished product in 1901 than in 1900."

The gall of these fakirs is truly amazing in the face of the above figures. But this is not all. We read on: "The bureau has found 340 separate and distinct labor organizations in the State in 1900 as against 214 in 1899. This last statement will show the rapidity with which labor is organizing. Be it further added that these 340 organizations had membership of 32,256 in 1901. . . . The present rapid growth during these times of material prosperity indicates that it is when work is plenty AND LABORERS HAVE MONEY THAT THEY ARE ABLE TO ORGANIZE, PAY DUES AND CARRY THE FINANCIAL BURDEN WHICH THE UNIONS LAY UPON THEM."

Finally we come across this gem: "The Legislature of 1901, was particularly friendly to workingmen." A string of 128 so-called labor laws is here spread out to prove how friendly the Legislature has been to labor. Upon closer inspection, however, it appears that 103 of those 128 laws, said to have been passed in 1901, were passed in 1888; 1 in 1891; 7 in 1893; 4 in 1894; 3 in 1897; 4 in 1898; and only 6 in 1901, while for the capitalist class there have been passed a hundred laws for every one granted to labor, and the one granted to labor really was, only another law in the interests of the capitalist class.

Holyoke, Mass. M. RUTHER.

IRON MOULDERS WOULD GIVE A GOOD DEAL TO KNOW WHERE.

Yonkers, Feb. 23.—The members of Iron Molders' Union No. 173 would give a good deal to learn the whereabouts of James Sugrue, who is the treasurer of their organization. Sugrue, according to report, has been absent from the city for some two weeks, and nothing has been heard concerning him. This in itself would not cause the members to worry so much, were it not for the additional fact that a reserve fund of \$400, which has been kept to the credit of the Union in the Yonkers Savings Bank, has also disappeared.

The matter has been placed in the hands of counsel and news of the missing treasurer is anxiously awaited. Sugrue, who is about twenty-six years of age, came to Yonkers some three years ago from Norwich, Conn. He worked until recently in a local foundry and when he left his boarding house on Hudson street, he stated that he was going to seek work in Jersey City. Enquiries have been made there, but without success. It has been learned that the money in the bank was taken out at various times. Sugrue being the only person who had authority to withdraw it. He was under no bond as no salary is attached to his office.

The Cincinnati Brewery Trouble.

The trouble among the brewers in Cincinnati is an illustration of the "solidarity" cultivated by pure and simpleminded. It was a question of whether the engineers and firemen working in the Brewery Workers' Union or the Stationary Engineers and Firemen's Union. The brewery workers said they should belong to their union. The engineers and firemen said they should belong to the other union. That brought on a breach, and the ultimatum was finally issued demanding that they resign and withdraw from the National Brewery Workmen's Union or else get out.

The result was that all the National Brewery Workmen were locked out Saturday night, at 12 o'clock midnight. Some of them weakened and withdrew, and most of the breweries started up Monday.

The Unemployed in Berlin.

The figures recently published relating to the number of the unemployed in Berlin were not complete. The final returns now to hand show that 70,029 persons are out of work in Berlin and its suburbs, while 52,501 persons are working short hours. In addition to these, 19,239 are unemployed owing to illness or physical disability. Not reckoning these sick persons, 126,530 persons remain who are in full health, but have either no employment at all, or whose wages are curtailed owing to shortened hours. These figures take no account of the very large number of workmen who work by the job and are earning much less owing to the bad times.

The above gives quite another idea of the real economical situation than the figures of the Berlin police authorities, who discovered only about 10,000 unemployed. The trades union committee which instituted the above inquiry has fulfilled a very difficult task, which was made possible only by about 12,000 workmen spending two Sundays in going from house to house asking for information with regard to the position of the breadwinners.—Berlin Correspondence of the London Daily News.

SOCIALIST TRUTH

Suppressed by Reactionists in England, Takes Refuge in America.

24 Brisbane Street, Greenock, Scotland, Feb. 18, 1902. Editor of DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE, 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York.

Dear Comrade—I shall be obliged by your publishing the enclosed letter in THE PEOPLE. Some weeks ago the specialist in politics who writes the notes in the front page of "Justice" perpetrated the enclosed paragraph on the defeat of the Parti Ouvrier at Roubaix: "Justice," Saturday, Feb. 1, 1902.

"THE DEFEAT OF THE PARTI OUVRIER AT ROUBAIX."

It is impossible not to take a deep interest in the present development of Socialism in France. How our Comrades Jaures and Gerault-Richard can continue to support Millerand because he now and then makes a speech, as at St. Etienne, passes our comprehension. It is a safe rule in politics to mark what men do and to pay little attention to what they say. Judged from this standpoint, Millerand can no longer be regarded as a militant Socialist. What he has allowed himself to be a party to without tendering his resignation would cause a political rhinoceros to die of indigestion, and it is creditable to the openness and fairness of the "Petite Republique" that it published the other day Amilcar Cipriani's forcible indictment against him. The continued presence of Millerand in the French Cabinet does, in fact, cast a slur upon International Socialism. On the other hand, there is no denying that the opponents of Millerand have done some very queer things themselves, and of course Jaures and his friends do not forget to tell them about their backslidings. It is all very regrettable. And now the Parti Ouvrier has had a terrible blow, which, with complete frankness, the "Socialiste" admits to have been a terrible blow, at Roubaix, of all places in the world. This town has been held up throughout Europe, and with justice, as a model of what even intermediary management might be under Socialist guidance. After having held control for years the men of the Guesde-Lafargue section have been beaten, to the great delight of the reactionists. Once more we say it is all very regrettable, but we should only make matters worse by criticism at this juncture.

What makes this paragraph particularly scandalous is the fact that no mention is ever made of the victories of the Parti Ouvrier (e. g. last year's municipal elections) while the proceedings of the Lyons Congress were passed over with a trifling and misleading note. This letter which I sent (mild as it is in all conscience) Mr. Quelch refused to print because forthwith it is of the nature "of a personal attack," and because, as he states, he can't waste the space of "Justice" on discussions on the Kautsky resolution. It has been his consistent policy to suppress all discussion in "Justice" of this resolution with the result that at the last conference the question came up for discussion the mass of the English delegates hadn't the faintest idea what it was and voted as Quelch told them with lamblike docility. Yours fraternally.

J. CARSTAIRS MATHEWSON.

[Enclosure.]

24 Brisbane Street, Greenock, Feb. 2, 1902. Editor of "Justice":

Dear Sir—Your remarks in the front page of "Justice" of last week on the subject of the present state of Socialism in France are somewhat perplexing to anyone who has taken an intelligent interest in the French working class movement during the past few years. You express surprise that your "Comrades" Jaures and Gerault-Richard (Heaven guard you, Mr. Editor, from such comrades) should continue to support M. Millerand. This would seem to imply: (1) That this gentleman during the term between his entry into the Waldeck-Rousseau government and your first protest against his remaining in office last autumn, had all that a loyal socialist could ask for and that since then his personal conduct and the relation of the government, of which he is a member, towards the proletariat had changed. (2) That the antecedents of MM. Jean Jaures et cie were such as to warrant us in expecting from them an unswerving loyalty to the cause of militant socialism. The first point to be noted is that those who, like yourself supported the Kautsky resolution at Paris, have given up the right to indulge even in the very mild criticism which you pass upon the "ministries" in the issue referred to. This resolution justifies the entry of a Socialist into a capitalist government (so long as that government negates its classhood and shows itself impartial towards the proletariat in its capacity as the political expression of the class whose existence is due to the robbery of the proletariat) PROVIDED THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY APPROVES OF THIS STEP. In what respect is M. Millerand's position changed? Has he not still the support of his party? In France "the approval of the Socialist Party" is necessarily and naturally translated "the approval of a Socialist Party" and "a Socialist Party" which is ready and willing to serve the ends of the bourgeoisie can be very easily brought into existence. Sir William Harcourt's famous expression proves how useful the bourgeoisie find the name "Socialism" and "Socialist" as a means of chloroforming the workers. Can you give us any information as to the constitution, programme and rules of the party of which MM. Jaures, Gerault-Richard and Millerand are members? I think it would clear up a great deal of confusion if we could get exact information on this point. France is at present the battlefield where a principle of enormous importance to the whole Socialist Movement is being fought out, and it is imperative that we should know

accurately the relative positions of the combatants.

Another point that requires explanation badly is what has M. Millerand done since our last conference, when he was hailed and defended as an angel of light by you and our traveled Comrade A. S. Headingley, that "Justice" should turn the light of its countenance away from him? It cannot be his support of the capitalists as against the workers during strikes. That was nothing new. Creusot Chalons bore eloquent testimony to the impartiality of the government of "Republican Defense." If the French Asquith who perpetrated these Featherstone butcheries in France could honestly claim the support of Socialists last August, what has he done since then that can be regarded as worse. Neither can the Russian Alliance be advanced as the reason. The French government was in full alliance with the soul and mind crushing despotism of Tsarism long before M. Millerand, "sacrificed himself for the republic," and the terrible crime involved in this alliance between French Socialism and the government of the knout and the dungeon was two years ago eloquently and portrayed by Guesde, Plechanoff, and in fact by all the writers and orators of the Parti Ouvrier. Just a week or two before our August Conference, where you and Comrade Headingley so strenuously defended Millerand and the resolution which gave him a status in the International Socialist Movement, the impartial government of Republican Defense had seized a Russian Socialist Refugee in Paris, whom they conducted to the frontiers, having first taken possession of his papers and correspondence, which were handed over to the Russian police, thus putting numbers of Russian Socialists in the power of the Mamalukes of Tsarism. It may be that at this moment in some Siberian convict settlement there are Russian comrades learning through the gentle agency of the knout the blessings of that ministerial Socialism which the Kautsky Resolution has made possible.

With regard to M. Jaures, your surprise at his present attitude is somewhat difficult to understand. Has not this gentleman, in common with his British disciple, A. S. Headingley (in his Edinburgh speech), denied the materialistic conception of history—that movement, and which, as Plechanoff so ably demonstrates, is the principle which separates it from and antagonizes it to Utopians of all types, whether of the Anarchist or the bourgeois reformer category. Jaures, both specifically and by implication, has denied the class struggle. He has either defended or minimized the various crimes of the Waldeck-Rousseau Government against the working class. He even tried for some time to whitewash Tsarism by suppressing the publication of letters which Plechanoff sent to "La Petite Republique," practising forth the atrocious crimes perpetrated by the Russian Government against the members of the Working Class Movement. Are we to understand, Mr. Editor, by your claim of comradeship with Jaures, that you are also a disciple of the "New Method"—that you share the views of that eloquent propagandist of the "collaboration of classes"? Why continue longer to kick against the pricks, to defend the Kautsky Resolution and denounce its products, to claim against Bernstein and defend those who put his theories into practice. There is a Gaelic proverb: "What Murdo picked Mionach ate till Mionach burst." Let us not, while condemning the moral obliquity of Murdo's course of action, partake of the fruit of his misdeeds lest Mionach's sad fate be ours.

Finally, while unable to question the soundness of the Parti Ouvrier's present position, you comfort your soul with some dark hints as to past mistakes. This is not the first time that such dark hints have been thrown out. Would it not be fairer to state openly whatever charges you have to make, so that we may either admit or combat them? No party, not even the S. D. F., is infallible, and to rake up mistakes, real and imaginary, dating from Boulangist days ten or fifteen years back does not suffice to buck the fact that the P. O. F. together with the Revolutionary Socialist Party, constitutes the bona fide working class party of France, and that the issue of events has proved the soundness of the position which it took up and consistently maintained towards the Kautsky Resolution and M. Millerand. Yours sincerely,

J. CARSTAIRS MATHEWSON.

KEEP AWAY FROM ST. LOUIS.

More Men There Now Than Will Be Needed for World's Fair.

St. Louis, Mo., March 3.—The Post-Dispatch says: "Newspapers in other towns and cities would do well to inform their readers that St. Louis has enough labor at this time, and that it is too soon for workmen and others to come here in large numbers with the object of getting employment in connection with the World's Fair."

"Rev. Taylor Bernard, in an address before the Evangelical Alliance Monday, called the attention to the fact that the men out of work who are swarming into this city are unable to obtain employment of refuge. He said that the sight of the crowds of homeless men trying to get a vacant spot on the floor of the old church on Eleventh and Locust streets, for a night's rest, affected him so that he was unable to sleep. These men, he said, were not tramps. Many of them were educated and skilled, yet could find nothing to do. The buildings for the World's Fair, it is foolish for men to flock to this city. The man who comes now without means, runs the risk of falling into utter destitution."

Women and Children in the Silk Industry.

Washington, Feb. 23.—The Census Bureau announces that in 1900 there were 433 silk factories in the country, with a capital of \$81,082,021, and an average of 55,416 wage earners drawing total wages of \$20,982,194. Of the wage earners 34,000 were sixteen years of age and over, and 6,413 were children under sixteen. The total value of products was \$107,256,258.

SOCIALISM vs.

ANARCHISM.

By Daniel De Leon.

A lecture delivered at Boston, Mass., under the auspices of Section Boston of the Socialist Labor Party.

Tells what Socialism is. Tells what Anarchism is. Shows that Seth Low is an Anarchist. Shows that the "Socialist Party" is an Anarchist Party. Shows that the Protestant Church was a necessity as a forerunner of capitalism. Shows that the Socialist Republic is the only thing that can free the working class. Shows that the Socialist Labor Party is the only organization based on scientific principles and guided by correct tactics. Shows that the "Capitalism knows its rule has nothing to fear from Anarchy." Shows that the capitalists "know that the axe that will behead the Tyrant Capitalism, is held in the powerful grasp of Socialism."

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The most of those German books we advertised a short time ago have been sold. The following can still be obtained at prices indicated:

Die Ländliche Arbeiterfrage. Von Kahlukow. Regular price, 75 cents. Special price, 21 cents. By mail, 10 cents extra.

Die Geschichte des Britischen Trade Unionismus. Von Webb. Regular price, \$2.50. Special price, 75 cents. By mail, 15 cents extra.

Die Französische Revolution. Von Bloss. Regular price, \$2. Special price, 63 cents. By mail, 15 cents extra.

Fortschritt und Armuth. Von Henry George. Regular price, \$1. Special price, 50 cents. By mail, 15 cents extra.

Liebkecht's Fremdwortbuch. Regular price, \$1.50. Special price, 50 cents. By mail, 15 cents extra.

Ein Held des Geistes und des Schwertes. Von Walster. Regular price, \$1.40. Special price, 50 cents. By mail, 15 cents extra.

Die 'Soziale Baukunst'. Von Petzler. Parts One and Two. Regular price, 60 cents each. Special price, 27 cents each. By mail, 10 cents extra.

Die Französische Revolution von 1848. Von Heretier. Regular price, \$2.20. Special price, 63 cents. By mail, 20 cents extra.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
2-6 New Reade Street,
New York City.

Gone With the Dough.

Kansas City, Mo., March 2.—The Star reports that William C. Bell, city elevator inspector, has disappeared, and that the officers of the Engineers' Union, of which he was recording secretary, are very anxious about \$286 of the union's money which Bell had. Bell has been gone since February 15. He left behind his wife and 5-year-old daughter, who live in Landis court.

Bell was appointed to the office of city elevator inspector by Mayor Reed (Democrat) seven months ago. His salary was \$100 a month. He was bonded by a surety company to faithfully account for all moneys collected for the city. He collected and turned over to the city treasurer \$128 in January for inspecting elevators. He has turned in nothing for February, although he inspected elevators as usual the first half of February. If it is found that Bell owes the city anything it can be collected from his bondsman.

Bell was treasurer of the committee appointed to get up the ninth annual ball of Kansas City local union No. 6 of the International Union of Steam Engineers. The officers of this lodge say he had \$286 of the money collected. They have found that he left behind \$65 on deposit in the First National Bank, and Mr. Swinney, president of the bank, has promised them he will hold this money until they can bring legal proceedings to get it. The union will also claim Bell's salary for the last half of February. Mrs. Bell collected the first half after he had gone away.

Bell told his wife before he left that he was going to Mexico to look for a better job. A day later she got a letter from him written on a train, inclosing \$10 for his little daughter. Mrs. Bell and her daughter left yesterday to visit relatives near Kansas City.

Before Mayor Reed appointed him to the office in the city hall he was engineer of the Gibraltar building.

WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Published by the Socialist Labor Party,
at 24 and 6 New Reade St.,
New York.

P.O. Box 1576. Telephone 129 Franklin.
EVERY SATURDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office, June 27, 1900.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 36,564
In 1900..... 34,191



The worker, who once carried in his own hands the skill of a whole trade, could move whither he would to exercise his industry and earn his living; the modern laborer, however, such as he is made by capitalism, is a mere accessory, who, separated from his fellows, is forthwith deprived of both skill and independence, and is forced to submit to whatever regulation is imposed upon him.

STORCH.

THE WORKMAN MADE SCAPE.

John M. Wisker, the engineer whose train, amid blinding soot, smoke and fog, crashed into another train in the New York Central Tunnel has been indicted: Under the skillful guidance of the Reform District Attorney, the Grand Jury found itself "beyond any reasonable doubt," convinced of his culpability and found a bill against him for manslaughter. On the other hand, under skillful guidance of the same Reform District Attorney, the Grand Jury could not convince itself "beyond a reasonable doubt" that the officials of the New York Central were guilty, and it accordingly allowed to go off scot free the gentlemen under whose management, the above-named soot, smoke and fog was allowed to gather in the tunnel, despite repeated accidents, and despite a prophetic presentment, made by another Grand Jury not quite ten months ago, calling attention to the horrible Dark Hole of Calcutta that those same gentlemen were keeping up in the Tunnel.

That the class of people, who get on capitalist Boards of Directors, who call themselves "workmen," and whose ponderous salaries are lumped in Census reports with the pittance earned by the actual workers on the roads, are at every such recurring event as the Tunnel Horror, found out to be non-workers, except in the work of drawing salaries, is nothing uncommon. Nor is it at all uncommon that whenever punishment is to be meted out, it regularly falls wholly upon the worker. For all that, there is in this particular instance something uncommon; and fortunate is the uncommonness thereof.

As a rule, such glaring acts of injustice carry the stamp of only one or the other of capitalist parties. If Tammany had been in power, not a few would the innocents have been who would have thought, oh, if only the Republican party had been in power! On the other hand, had the Republicans been in power, quite a few would the innocents have been who would have sighed, oh, if only Labor-Loving Democrats had been in power. And thus the point would have been missed: the important fact would have escaped all but the most watchful that the infamy committed was, not the act of this or that political party, as the case might happen to be, but the act of the capitalist class, which both parties agree upon upholding, nursing and protecting. Now, the uncommonness in this Tunnel case lies in the fact that the point cannot be missed except a man be a natural born idiot.

The Administration now in power in New York, and under whose presiding influence, direction and breath the certainly guilty New York Central officials go free, while the at least probably innocent Wisker is indicted, that Administration is not Republican only, is not Democratic only, it is both Democratic and Republican. The Administration is a fusion Administration, made up of representative men of both parties. The infamy of Wisker's indictment, and of freedom granted to the Board of Directors is thereby riveted in plain view of all upon the Capitalist Class.

The Working Class, in voting either Democratic or Republican, simply assumes the political role of the role it

fills on the economic field: the role of food for cannon.

Why not try to run that cannon yourselves?

A PRELIMINARY KNOCK-DOWN.

About a week ago, an article from Washington, D. C., appeared in a number of papers setting forth that the sails of the national ship were simply bulging with the gale of prosperity. As usual in such cases, columns-full of figures were trotted out to back the prosperity claims; and the official document, just published, from which the figures were taken was pronounced "a picture on every page." Particularly emphatic was that part of the articles in question that gave the statistics on savings banks. The number of depositors for 1901 was given at 6,107,083; the amount of deposits was given at \$2,449,547,885. As usual, the conclusion was drawn that these depositors were workingmen, that these deposits were wealth owned by workingmen, and, consequently, that the condition of the workers was increasingly prosperous. As usual, again, when looked into, the figures failed to bear out the conclusion; on the contrary they point the other way.

The Census reports are yet wholly wanting on the manufacturing, mechanical and other industries in most of the States from which savings banks reports are given; and even the Census reports that are out are still far from complete on these important points. Nevertheless, incomplete as they are, they bear, as far as they go, a complete refutation of the claim, based on the reports of savings banks, that the depositors are workmen and the deposits workmen's property.

The below table gives in comprehensive form the status in the matter of savings banks depositors for the eleven States that the Census reports on manufacturing industries enable conclusions to be drawn from. As to Florida and Utah, the below figures of deposits and amounts deposited are for 1900. They are left out of the report for 1901:

States.	Popula.	Earners.	No. of	No. of	Amount	Over	Excess of
			Wage	Deposits.	Deposited.	Wage	Deposits.
Connecticut.....	908,420	126,084	110,312	1,887,912	228,488	228,488	1,000
Delaware.....	184,132	24,083	22,007	3,111,012	1,104	1,104	1,000
District of C.....	278,718	24,083	22,007	3,111,012	1,104	1,104	1,000
Iowa.....	2,241,708	58,533	50,227	73,778,208	10,058	10,058	1,000
Maine.....	694,422	74,816	67,877	80,553,038	12,242	12,242	1,000
Massachusetts.....	1,818,881	178,301	161,500	61,500,000	64,077	64,077	1,000
Michigan.....	2,343,741	178,301	161,500	61,500,000	64,077	64,077	1,000
Minnesota.....	1,588,510	178,301	161,500	61,500,000	64,077	64,077	1,000
North Carolina.....	1,428,505	178,301	161,500	61,500,000	64,077	64,077	1,000
Rhode Island.....	497,005	48,410	42,522	72,180,124	42,753	42,753	1,000
Texas.....	3,843,101	250,445	220,445	40,200,000	42,753	42,753	1,000
Vermont.....	268,500	28,085	25,113	40,200,000	42,753	42,753	1,000
West Virginia.....	608,500	28,085	25,113	40,200,000	42,753	42,753	1,000
Utah.....	268,500	28,085	25,113	40,200,000	42,753	42,753	1,000
Florida.....	568,204	28,085	25,113	40,200,000	42,753	42,753	1,000

What do these figures show?

It must be kept in mind that the column headed: "Number of Depositors" is misleading; and that it is made all the more misleading in the official returns by being headed: "Number of Depositors." The two headings, particularly the latter (No. of Depositors), suggest separate and distinct individuals making deposits. Now, that is a false suggestion. One depositor can make as many deposits as there are savings banks within his reach. Obviously, the number of deposits may be, and as a matter of fact is, considerably larger than the number of actual depositors; but the exact figures on the number of actual depositors is unascertainable. On the other hand, there can be no suggestion of false numbers under the head: "Number of manufacturing wage earners;" the same individual wage earner is not counted twice. It follows that the number of manufacturing wage earners given may be considered accurate, while that of deposits is inaccurate, inasmuch as it is in excess of actual depositors. Despite this looseness, that makes in favor of a favorable showing for "Prosperity," the above table shows:

1st: Even if what the most blatant "Prosperity-Howler" would hardly dare proclaim—each of the deposits in the District of Columbia, Florida, North Carolina and West Virginia is made by a separate workman, there is, in the District of Columbia an excess of over 19,000 manufacturing wage earners alone over deposits, in Florida an excess of over 12,000, in North Carolina an excess of over 58,000, in West Virginia an excess of over 28,000. In other words: In the District of Columbia there are over 4 times as many manufacturing wage earners alone, in Florida nearly 15 times, in North Carolina nearly

6 times, and in West Virginia nearly 7 times, as there are deposits!

2nd: Even if what the most brazen juggler in labor statistics would hesitate to assert—each of the manufacturing wage earners in Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Utah and Vermont is a savings bank depositor, with a savings bank book in his pocket, there is in all of these States an excess, in most of them a huge excess, of deposits over manufacturing wage earners, the excess ranging all the way from over 200,000 to over 1,000.

When the number of wage earners in the many other than manufacturing industries for the District and the States now in shall be known, and the Census figures shall be complete for the whole country the double dishonest fiction that the working class of the land are depositors in the savings banks, and that the savings bank deposits are working class property will be still more completely flattened out.

The above is only a preliminary knock-down.

BOYCOTT AND COUNTER-BOYCOTT.

As widely advertised in the public press, Bishop James E. Quigley of Buffalo, N. Y., issued on the 23rd of February a pastoral letter to the priests of the German and Polish churches in Buffalo placing the Social Democratic Party under the ban of the Roman Catholic Church. Such conduct, at first blush, would arouse popular indignation. It matters not what political convictions a man may be of, every worthy American citizen would appear solidly arrayed against any pulpiteer, of whatever denomination, who would officially interfere in politics; and the indignation would be all the more vehement if the meddler spoke as the subject of a foreign potentate, as Bishop Quigley does. But the nation's saving sense of humor will, in this instance, stay its indignation. The occasion is rather for a loud, long, roaring and prolonged guffaw.

Even a superficial reading of the Bishop's pastoral suggests quaint suggestions. Why is the thunderbolt factory of the Bishop set in motion specifically against the Social Democratic Party? How comes it he does not flare up at the Socialist Movement in general? Or can it be that he is actually so well informed as to know that the Social Democratic Party stands to Socialism in the relation of Ireland to snakes? And even so why does he pick out the shivering and forlorn bakers-dozen of Buffalo Kangaroos, who don't know themselves whether they are dead or alive, for the toads on whom to ply this toad-sticker? These questions, that naturally suggest themselves and in that very order, suggest a full and careful reading of the Bishop's fulmination that, in its turn suggests some special inquiry. The secret that then leaps forth is well deserving of all the roars of laughter that one may have to spare.

This is the secret: There are in Buffalo two obscure, penny-chasing German papers, struggling hard for existence. They are the "Volksfreund" and the "Arbeiter-Zeitung." The former is a Roman Catholic organ, the latter is the organ of the German Organized Scabbery, which files the Social Democratic Party colors. The competition of these two papers for subscribers is as sharp as that of two rival dives facing each other on the same street. That is the secret of the Bishop's letter to the German and Polish priests of Buffalo; that explains his singling out of the Social Democracy; that accounts for his wrath at the "Arbeiter-Zeitung"; and that is the milk in the cocoanut of his indignation at the threatened boycott of the "Volksfreund." In other words, the Bishop's letter is but a counter-boycott hand-bill in a fight for subscribers, i. e., shekels.

Who, in view of all this, would not rather laugh than indignant; and, rather than denounce the meddling priest, thank him for a conduct that lets in so much light upon the "godliness" of pulpitdom?

Political and Economic.

The papers published in the interests of organized Scabbery are indignant at the fact that Wu Ting Fang called Gompers an "agitator." They demand that he be run out of the country for calling Gompers names. "The United Mine Workers Journal" is especially hot. It may be that this heat comes from a fear that Wu will call Mitchell or Dolan a workman. The point the paper makes is that the Chinese are a menace to all American workingmen, and that they should be excluded forever. Samuel Gompers, and the body he represents, are a greater power for harm than the Chinese. Gompers and the rest of the labor fakirs have done more injury to the workers to-day than the Chinese could ever do. It is against them that the indignation and the efforts of the working class should be directed, because in their overgrowth there is a greater victory than in passing a thousand exclusion bills.

READ AND PONDER.

No. 6's "Glorious Fight" Placed On Exhibition.

In the early history of the Socialist Labor Party, the introduction of the Socialist Republic, as advocated by its writers and speakers, was combated by capitalist papers, mercenary pulpiteers, and other upholders of the robber system, with various fallacious arguments, among others that it would break up the home, destroy religion, take away the incentive to industry, and reduce us all to a common and inferior level, all of which were stupidly re-echoed by the unthinking working class.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the Socialist Labor Party, each and every erroneous statement advanced as an argument by the capitalist class to keep the working class in ignorance of the causes of so much poverty and distress has been demonstrated to be untenable, and no worker who is at all familiar with Socialism longer attempts to make use of these exploded so-called arguments. But for some unexplainable reason the workers, accustomed to move, mechanically, in a certain groove, still refrain from putting in operation that which has been so conclusively proven to be for their material benefit, i. e., the Co-operative Commonwealth. But instead they readily grasp at any old argument that it is the Socialist theory that is at fault and not their moral cowardice that prevents them from changing a system which entails so much misery and hardship to the workers for one in which peace and plenty would naturally obtain, since the cause of their poverty, the private ownership of the means of production, distribution and transportation, would no longer exist.

The latest argument advanced is not against the ethics or economics advocated by the Socialist Labor Party, but against its tactics; namely, "that the S. L. P. is against trades unions." This argument, as all the others, was not first advanced by the rank and file of the working class, but by the ones whose material interests were threatened—the either crooked or ignorant officers of old-style "no-politics-in-the-union" trades organizations, and which is to a considerable extent re-echoed by the working class without any mental effort on their part to learn of its truth or its untruth.

The Socialist Labor Party has contended, and with a mass of documentary and other evidence satisfactorily proved to any and every honest investigator, that while we have a large number of workmen organized into constitutional bodies, they can in no wise be considered trades unions, if we measure them by the correct definition of the word. If we are to take an organization whose basic principles are founded on the knowledge that in our society to-day there are two classes—the capitalist class and the working class; the first, the capitalist class, being the master of the land and the means by which all necessities and luxuries are produced and distributed, the other, the working class, master of nothing, itself being a commodity (labor power); that the individual worker can of his own power do nothing to better his condition, but must necessarily associate himself with his fellows in order to compel the capitalist to at all consider him; that the injury of one member, not only of his own craft, but of his own class, should be the concern of all; that the only final solution of the so-called "labor problem" is the taking out of the hands of the capitalist class the land and all the means of production and distribution, placing them in the hands of the working class, to be operated by them and administered for them by means of government. If, then, we take this as a definition of what a union should be and measure our present pure and simple labor organizations by it, not one of them could qualify as a union, for an intelligent understanding of these facts has never been demonstrated to be possessed by any of them. To the pure and simpler there is no labor question aside from when his employer attempts to squeeze a little more profits out of him, and his actions on such occasions are governed entirely by the instinctive desire to protect himself from harm by a decrease in wages.

That there is a working class and a capitalist class—a working people and "bosses," being the pure and simple distinction—is true now and always will be, is the pure and simpler of unions, for he will positively state from his superficial knowledge of the world's history, that "always" were. Whether a man, in his opinion, will be a boss or a workingman depends entirely upon individual merits; if he has "brains," he will demonstrate the possession of them by lifting himself from the working class ranks to the position of "boss." If he has not, he must remain a worker. That the "boss" makes profits out of him he declares to be a just reward for the "brains" and "risks" of the "boss." Except occasionally, when the "boss" tries to demonstrate that his "brains" are of extraordinary quality, and, consequently, worthy of more profits, does our union man show anything but the most kindly feeling for the "boss." All the union man asks is a "fair share." Different men in different trades get an altogether different idea of what is a "fair share," that idea having no relation to the value of their products or what their wages will buy, but is based upon their wages in dollars and cents, hours of labor, etc., since he personally became familiar with them; one set looking upon \$12 a week as simply robbery of the "boss," while another set would consider twice that sum as about a "fair share."

Not perceiving the class struggle, not recognizing that the government is an agency of the "boss" or capitalist class, and who uses such government, by means of the courts, the militia, and police to counteract whatever little use his "union" might be to him in getting or retaining his "fair share," the Socialist Labor Party has as yet been unable to convince them to any considerable extent of the traitorous nature of the act of the union officer who accepts posi-

tions, in this capitalist government, and fail yet to see that the only reason they are given to them is to reward the faithful servant in their (the bosses') interest and at the same time blur the class lines.

The statement has been made, and amply proven, that the officers of pure and simple unions consider the union's treasury their private property, and at all times see to it that the stream that flows in is large and the one that flows out, unless it flows in their direction, is small. Of course they do not dip their hands in and take out money without giving a pretext. Strikes are used for a double purpose: one to levy a large assessment to get money in and to "fight capital with capital" in order to get it out. The latest case to demonstrate this fact is that of No. 6 against the New York "Sun."

In August, 1899, the New York "Sun" management anticipated the officers of No. 6, (a number of whom have been and are agents for the Mergenthaler machines, and who were using their position as officers in the interest of the Mergenthaler against the Lanston, in which Laffan, manager of the "Sun," is financially interested) and locked out about 200 printers, the pressmen, stereotypers, and others of the allied trades going out in sympathy. The union officers lost no time in putting on a 5 per cent. assessment, which some time later was reduced to 2 per cent. A sum aggregating at least \$100,000 has been gathered in, the spending of which was given over to a "Secret Committee." Now that the members are getting heartily tired of paying the 2 per cent., the officers have been trying to "settle the strike" on the basis of GIVING EVERY MAN WHO TOOK THE UNION MEN'S PLACES A UNION CARD AT REGULAR RATES, no discount for cash. They have demonstrated that they can do nothing for their old members and do not claim they are going to do anything for the new—just "do" them, that's all. After "fighting" two years and spending \$100,000, they are willing to settle, and are actually begging Laffan to give them a chance to collect dues and assessments from his "rats." Herewith is appended the text of the terms of No. 6:

New York, Jan. 31st, 1902.

This agreement, made this 31st day of January, 1902, between Mr. Marks Arnheim, representing Mr. W. M. Laffan, of the "Sun," and Mr. Ernest Bohm and Mr. Morris Brown, of the Central Federated Union, and Mr. Marsden G. Scott, president of New York Typographical Union No. 6, is as follows:

First—Mr. Arnheim has full power to represent Mr. Laffan in the matter of settling the differences between New York Typographical Union No. 6 and the New York "Sun," Mr. Arnheim having the written authority of Mr. Laffan to represent him, such written authority having been shown to the members of this committee.

Second—It is explicitly understood and agreed to, that on May 1st, 1902, the composing rooms of the "Sun" and "Evening Sun" are to be unionized.

Third—It is explicitly understood and agreed that on or after May 1st, next, Typographical Union No. 6 will admit to membership all the situation holders of the "Sun" and "Evening Sun" composing rooms upon the payment of the regular initiation fee, but no one now employed by the "Sun" shall be forced to join the union. It is, of course, understood that the employees of the "Sun" and "Evening Sun" composing rooms shall be free to join the union if they so desire, and shall be so informed by the proper representative of the "Sun."

Fourth—All former members of any Typographical Union now situation holders in the composing rooms of the "Sun" and "Evening Sun" shall make application for membership in the union, but only providing such former members are willing to do so, and their volition is not to be controlled. It is understood, of course, that the employees mentioned in this paragraph shall be free to join the union if they so desire, and shall be so informed by the proper representative of the "Sun."

Fifth—The officers of Typographical Union No. 6 agree that there shall be no interference on the part of their organization with any other mechanical department of the "Sun" and "Evening Sun."

Sixth—The boycott is hereby withdrawn and declared off, as a part of this agreement, and Typographical Union No. 6 hereby binds itself that no further action of any kind whatsoever shall be taken hostile or injurious to the "Sun's" interests.

Seventh—It is agreed that Mr. Arnheim shall be immediately placed in possession of a list of the situation holders of the "Sun" and "Evening Sun" composing rooms, and it is agreed that all vacancies which shall occur from this date in these departments shall be filled by members of the union, the foreman to be free to select from the entire membership of Typographical Union No. 6, old employees to be preferred.

Eighth—It is agreed that the scale of wages, hours, etc., in effect in the union newspaper offices of this city shall apply to the "Sun" and "Evening Sun" composing rooms.

Ninth—Typographical No. 6 waives all claims to jurisdiction over men or boys employed as attendants on Lanston casting machines.

Tenth—It is agreed that Mr. Arnheim shall act as the representative of the "Sun" on all points not covered in this agreement.

In conclusion Messrs. Marks Arnheim, Ernest Bohm, Morris Brown and Marsden G. Scott hereby express their unanimous opinion that this agreement will result to the entire satisfaction of all concerned, and that any points not covered will be amicably adjusted through the good offices of Mr. Arnheim.

Witness Wm. C. McCloy.

MARKS ARNHEIM,
MARSDEN G. SCOTT,
MORRIS BROWN,
ERNEST BOHM.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 31st day of January 1902.

WERNER F. BERNHART.

Notary Public.

Certificate filed in N. Y. C.

The dues-hunting nature of this

"agreement" is so plain that no trouble will be taken to point them out. They are even willing to work with "scab" pressmen and stereotypers.

In a hand bill of poster size they show their confidence in the working class by ignoring them altogether and appealing entirely to the "sympathy" of middle class and other capitalists, who have wage slaves of their own to exploit. Under the title "The Universal Sympathy for Old Age," they recite the pitiful tale of the cruel treatment by Paul Dana of his old men—who are at once stockholders and employees of the "Sun." After citing a number of cases of old men who have not worked a day since 1890, and who are of no use to any one else on account of their age, they appeal to the middle class to help them beat the "Sun" for these men's sake, and then on the other side of the bill give the broken agreement, which, had Mr. Laffan accepted it, would have left their old men, over whom they shed so many crocodile tears, out in the cold, and the rats, whom they have spent over \$100,000 fighting, hold the situations. To all of which the members of No. 6 seem willing to peacefully submit.

I would like to ask the members of No. 6 if they do not think it is about time for them to awaken to the fact that there is a labor question, and that as long as they allow the means by which they create wealth to remain the private property of a set of idle capitalists and Wall street gamblers, so long will there be recurring evidences of that fact, now in this trade and place, now in some other trade and place, and that the only way to settle this labor problem once for all is for them to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, the only party that has steadily called their attention both to the cause of the evil and to the labor crooks who profit thereby, vote its ticket into power, capture the powers of government, and use it to put the mills, mines, factories and railroads in the hands of the working class, to be operated by them, co-operatively, as they are to-day, but—as they are not to-day—also to be enjoyed by them. BIG SIX DUES-PAYER.

How great has been the contrast between the aspect usually presented by the show-windows on Washington's birthday and the aspect they have presented this year. Formerly, Washington's pictures filled the windows; this year their place was taken by pictures of Prince Henry. On Washington's pictures there is nothing but his face; on Prince Henry's pictures there is nothing but his clothes.

The Hindoo twin, Rodica, who was recently cut from her sister in order that her life might be saved, is in a fair way to recover. The other twin was afflicted with a tuberculosis tumor, and the progress of the disease was telling on the twin that was not diseased. The condition of the working class is typified to a certain extent by this case. There is a bond connecting the healthy, vigorous and intelligent working class with the pestiferous trades union of the pure and simple variety. This bond can be severed, with no injury to the workers, while its continuance means that the workers will surely be infected, and will ultimately suffer from the very simple union such a menace to every man who works for a living.

Prof. John Wurtz, of the Yale Law School, drew the attention of his class to certain shortcomings when he said: "Never in my experience have I met a class that stood so low in general scholarship, so low in general deportment and so rowdy in conduct. I might say right here that I am expressing the unanimous opinion of the Law School faculty. It is a foregone conclusion that one-third of the class cannot and will not pull through their final examinations."

There have been many examples of college rowdiness recently. "Co-eds" have been attacked, and public and private property has been destroyed. Instead of bewailing the fact, the worthy professor should advocate the addition of a course in tuggery to the college curriculum. The young "gentlemen" who are to be the future fleecers of labor know the qualifications required.

Anti-monopoly Hogg of Texas some time ago to the octopus, has reformed. Hogg struck oil and he is one of the "pluties" himself. Hogg is in London—in Lombard street trying to get the "moneyed interests" interested in his oil. It is said that he has penetrated the London social domain and is trying to break into the exclusive court circles. The next thing we will hear is that Hogg is to attend the coronation in knee breeches or medieval armor with a sword at his side. There will be woe among the Bryanites of Texas when the news penetrates the din raised by the denouncers of the crime of '73.

International Typographical Union No. 6 showed its friendliness for "The Journal," "the friend and champion of labor," when it hopped with its "Big 16" shoe on the necks of the proof readers and copy holders who had a misunderstanding with Brother Capital Heart.

Number 6 has been playing with "The Journal" in just about the same way as a bird plays with a snake when it flops irresistibly towards it. "The Journal" has use for Number 6. There is no sentimentality in the business office of the paper, and there is no idiosyncrasy there. Those two things are reserved for the editorial page. There is no fear of Number 6, and there is no overstatement of its force. What there is, however, is an understanding of the fact that the fakirs of Number 6 can keep the dopes of Number 6 in line. It was done in the case of the compositors who wished to go out with the proof readers. They were whipped into line and they took their whipping with as much grace as they take everything else that is given to them from the hand of Brother Capital.

It is the fitness of things that the Kangaroo Social Democracy is willing to be dominated by that sort of thing.

If you are getting this paper without having ordered it, do not refuse it. Someone has paid for your subscription. Renew when it expires.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN—To me it is very clear that the Socialist programme will go to smash against the moral sense of the American people.

UNCLE SAM—Inasmuch as to which? B. J.—Inasmuch as to the moral sense of the American people will revolt against the idea of confiscation.

U. S.—Confiscation? For instance? B. J.—The Socialist will, for instance, tell you point-blank that they mean to appropriate the railroads without indemnifying their owners.

U. S.—Supposing they did! B. J.—That is confiscation, and confiscation is an immoral act! and no moral people like the American would countenance such a thing.

U. S. (after a pause)—What is the name of the Austrian village in which you were born?

B. J. (indignant)—Austrian village! I was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and you know it!

U. S.—Oh, I mean your father, in what Austrian village was he born?

B. J.—My father was born in Boston, near the Boston Common.

U. S.—Oh! Well, then, it must have been your mother. What Austrian village does she hail from?

B. J. (very indignant)—Do you call Lynn an "Austrian village"? You know very well she was born in Lynn.

U. S. (affecting embarrassment)—Well, I mean your father's mother or your mother's father. In what Austrian village were they born?

B. J. (very haughtily)—I want you to understand that not only was I born here and my parents, too, but all my four grand-parents, and all their grand-parents were born in this country; we are of pure Mayflower extraction, and New England stock.

U. S.—Then you all descend from the neighborhood of where Bunker Hill Monument now stands?

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—Then you feel very proud about the American Revolution, do you not?

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

As to the S. T. & L. A.

First—What should be the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. on the subject of the economic organization of labor? Should it hold such organizations to be needed, or to be wholly needless?

Second—What is the present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards the pure and simple trades organization?

Third—What should be the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards pure and simple organizations?

Fourth—Does the S. T. & L. A. need the S. T. & L. A. to expose and overthrow the pure and simple organizations?

Fifth—Does the connection of the S. T. & L. A. with the S. T. & L. A. strengthen or weaken the Socialist Movement, and in what way?

[The Roman figure over each letter indicates the numerical order in which the letter was received since the debate started under the Curran system. The Curran letter inaugurated that system in numbered Letter I.]

VIII.

Having belonged to Section Lincoln since the organization of the same, and having belonged in the early days of unionism to Machinists and Blacksmiths Union No. 1 of Ohio, and afterwards to the Knights of Labor, also having served two terms in the Legislature of Nebraska (1881 and 1891), I wish to add my mite to the discussion of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, as the discussion is very interesting to me, and cannot but prove advantageous to the Party in my judgment.

To question one, I will answer that I believe an organization on the economic field is not only necessary, but absolutely so in order to drill the masses of labor, and infuse into them some hope which the old style pure and simple—more simple than pure—daily prove unfit for.

Question two I cannot answer well, as both the S. T. & L. A. are small in number and unionism hard to locate, those living in manufacturing centers can do it better.

Also question 3.

Question four—I would say the S. T. & L. A. needs the S. T. & L. A. more to reach the laboring masses than for anything else; just as the army needs the squad drill to fit them to act together. In my estimation a speech once in a while is good; but in order to get the awkward squad to get instruction (and the laboring classes, in my estimation, are said awkward squad yet) it is necessary to drill a prolonged time.

Question five—I would say cannot be answered intelligently. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to give the S. T. & L. A. a fair trial. The Party has passed through a process of purification of tactics, to such an extent since the formation of the S. T. & L. A., that we may be misled in ascribing a loss of votes to the S. T. & L. A. when the reason was only the loss of floating votes not belonging to us at all.

I do not know very much about the growth of the S. T. & L. A. being out of its influence here, none having been formed here yet, but I will remember the growth of the unions when they were first started in this country. Let not those who want the Alliance to grow like mushrooms after a rain think that would describe the growth of the simple and pure. It was as slow of growth as the oak is. The Knights of Labor was the meteor in flash, but it proved a flash in the pan.

S. J. HERMAN.

Lincoln, Neb.

IX.

My contribution to the Alliance debate is as follows:

Question No. 1.

It seems to me that the S. T. & L. A. should hold that economic organizations are needless.

In the few industries where the workers have succeeded in increasing the nominal wage, either by an increase in pay or shortening of the work day, the benefits have been neutralized by more intensive labor, loss of employment, division of labor and the evils of monopoly inherent in the capitalist system.

The apparent victories of economic organizations have only obtained where competition still exists, where trustification has not yet got the upper hand.

Can a trade union, founded on the Alliance basis, get any better results where everyone must know that it will be obliged to use the same weapon of defense, the strike? Can they wield it any better than the men who are now engaged in the competitive trades? My observations do not lead me to believe they can. To say that the Alliance was not organized to win strikes is begging the question.

The pure and simple union is unable, on the average, to better or even maintain the present standard of the workers, in a measure due to the incapacity and corruption of the leaders, the lack of solidarity on the part of the membership, on the one hand, and the increasing misuse of the power of government by the means of injunction on the other by the property class. Will a body of the calibre of the Alliance win the support of the wage-earners? An organization that after six years of existence can muster but twenty-one delegates in a national convention, whose structural weakness, so far as trade organization counts, shows itself in the District Alliance central body idea composed of heterogeneous elements whose craft interests are incompatible and whose class solidarity can assert itself at but one place, the ballot box? An organization which as yet is in an extremely crude state of development and whose immediate prospects of betterment are remote?

It seems to me that the Alliance and

the pure and simple form of organization are doomed. If there are those of the working class who believe that there are still benefits to be derived in trade organizations let them plug away, but for us, political action, adherence to the platform of the S. T. & L. A.

I regard this first proposition the essential one.

Question No. 2.

As to our smash front without policy I can't see any results when you consider the hammering they have received.

The leaders are as numerous and as slick as ever, the membership has increased numerically, and what I state here concerns the building trades industry. They were never numerically stronger and the treasuries are in good condition. The Alliance movement has not made the slightest impression in this industry. This is the net result of the Alliance agitation, where the trust is still a long ways off, where thousands of men are compelled to carry a pure and simple card. If a bona fide trade union cannot reach here what can it do where competition is dead. It is up to the Alliance advocates to account for this leakage in the building trades.

Question No. 3.

I see nothing for the Party's attitude to be but to show up the weakness of the pure and simple organization, keep in mind that our goal is the abolition of the wage system, the conquest of the public powers by political action fought on class lines.

Question No. 4.

I am unable to see why the S. T. & L. A. needs the S. T. & L. A. to overthrow or expose the pure and simple organization. Whatever has been done in exposing the pure and simple trade union, the credit belongs to the S. T. & L. A. It has been its press, literature and speakers that have done the work, the Alliance but duplicated the work of the S. T. & L. A. To my mind the Declaration of Principles is but a tautology of our platform.

I am not greatly concerned whether the pure and simple organization is overthrown. I do want it exposed. There are other things that exist which need overthrowing far more. The fetich of private property, the class state and the church militant; either one is a greater barrier to our progress than the trade union. Contrast a Gompers with a corporation attorney pleading for franchises and vested rights! A Tobin beside a United States Senator! A Mitchell to an Archbishop Ireland, or Potter! In the Archdiocese wrought to the working class how puny seems the labor fakirs to these people!

Question No. 5.

To my mind the connection of the Party and the Alliance is injurious to the Party.

In different ways it draws energy from the members that is mispent. It entangles our Party in trade conflicts by which the Party is compromised and its revolutionary course weakened. The Alliance, being a dual form of organization in itself, produces endless friction. As members of the Alliance are not obligated to vote the ticket, they are outside the pale of the Party; they are political scabs like the pure and simple.

Why should Socialists support an organization whose members do not cast a class-conscious ballot? I say, overboard with the Alliance! It is to the political movement directed by the S. T. & L. A. that the wage-workers must rally!

J. A. BRESNAHAN.

Boston, Mass.

X.

As a member of the S. T. & L. A. I hereby join by invitation in discussion of the proposition given by Comrade Thomas Curran. I first give the definition of true politics and true political education in the statement: That every person has an equal right, not only to life, but to the MEANS of life also. That the effect of such politics and of such political education is to establish and practice this greatest physical right of mankind by means of Socialism and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

As to the first part of Curran's proposition: The S. T. & L. A. should hold that the economic organization of labor on the basis of free political discussion and truthful political education is absolutely necessary, fundamental, and all-important, for the peaceful revolution to abolish wage-slavery, poverty and economic injustice.

Second: The present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards the pure and simple trades organizations is one of sympathy and yet one of deep disgust for their ensnaring political ignorance of their economic rights, and with a great desire for their welfare, as for that of all mankind.

Third: The S. T. & L. A. should be a firm teacher and guide to the pure and simple organizations, with no compromising.

Fourth: The S. T. & L. A. needs the POLITICAL S. T. & L. A. It needs the political family, and the whole people needs truthful political and economic education more than any other education.

Fifth: The S. T. & L. A. will greatly strengthen the Socialist movement as now organized, on a political basis; will greatly strengthen the Socialist movement.

SHEPARD B. COW.

Trufant, Mich.

XI.

To the first of Comrade Curran's questions I hold that it is necessary to have an economic organization for the simple reason, if the slave class have no economic organization how can they expect to better their conditions and throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist class and assume their manhood outside of the S. T. & L. A.? There are grievances such as fines, lockouts, reduction of wages and many other petty annoyances that the factory hand, mechanic or worker can better their conditions on immediately, provided an economic organization is there such as the S. T. & L. A. As long as the system of profits and robbery exists—the employing (robber) class, and the working (robbed) class—there will need to be an economic organization to fight on the economic field.

Second: The present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards the pure and simple trades unions is to smash and destroy it, root and branch, as they are a hindrance to any further progress to better the conditions of the working class, and run the

revolutionary spirit of that class into the ground, such as Hazleton, Pa., Tampa, Fla., etc.

Third: The attitude of the S. T. & L. A. should be to abolish the pure and simple unions, not by boring from within as per Bandlow and Hayes, we know what that false pretence means, but by establishing a new trades union such as the S. T. & L. A., and fight the old and bring forth the new; organize the workers and teach them their class solidarity. We should expose the leaders as fakirs and show the workers why they cry out "No politics in the union!"

Fourth: This is rather a knotty question to a man who is not used to penning his ideas. The S. T. & L. A. needs and simple organizations as per Carriage Workers a few years ago, when Peter Damm was organizer of said Union, which nearly captured the majority vote to ally itself with the S. T. & L. A. I don't think we need the S. T. & L. A. to "expose" the pure and simple in one way, as the S. T. & L. A. can do that of itself. In another way it does need it by pointing out to its craftsmen and other workers the difference between the new trades unionism and the worn-out British pure and simpledom.

Fifth: The connection of the S. T. & L. A. with the S. T. & L. A. does strengthen the Socialist movement to a certain extent in that the working class will be pointed out the political feature of the S. T. & L. A. and their class solidarity at the ballot box. How that party alone can better the conditions of the working working class such as in France in the city of Roubaix, in Germany and other places where the Socialists have voted money from the city treasuries to help striking workmen and their families and used that political power for the exclusive use of the working class. But at the present time I hardly think it has strengthened the Socialist movement in America in regards to members, but in intelligence it has strengthened it a hundredfold.

JAMES MATTHEWS.

Collinwood, O.

XII.

First—What should be the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. on the subject of economic organization of labor? Should it hold such organizations to be needed, or to be wholly useless? Answer: The economic organization of labor should be absolutely in the control of the S. T. & L. A. and be used principally as a means by which we may educate its members.

TO BE AWARE AND CONSCIOUS.

First—That they themselves produce all wealth.

Second—That they receive but a small portion of their total product in the form of wages, because of the commodity character of their labor power, which denies them the right of self-employment.

Third—That this condition is due to the private ownership of the means of production, transportation, distribution and communication, which, under capitalism, are operated for the profit of the capitalist class.

Fourth—That this condition makes it necessary that the worker be a wage worker, since capitalism is based upon wage slavery.

Fifth—That the downward tendency of wages may be delayed by the economic organization, but this downward direction can not be changed by a mere economic craft organization, fighting with the wage system, which is but an effect, of which capitalism is the real cause, and therefore the results of economic struggles should not be exaggerated.

Sixth—That this downward tendency of wages must be fought with a view to the abolition of capitalism and wage slavery, that is, with a view to the abolition of the private ownership of the tools of production (capital) and natural resources, substituting collective ownership, with production, carried on for use and not for profit.

Seventh—That by thus controlling and owning collectively the tools with which, and the land from which they themselves produce all wealth, they would control and therefore receive the full product of their labor, that is, having abolished capitalism and wage slavery, they will have substituted Socialism and freedom—the Socialist Republic.

Eighth—That the above programme can only be carried out on the political field by a revolutionary working class party such as the S. T. & L. A.

Ninth—That the working class are numerous and therefore strong, while the capitalist class are few, and therefore weak at the ballot box only, while in the economic field the capitalist is strong, and the great numbers of the working class is a source of economic weakness.

The S. T. & L. A. should hold such an economic organization, as described, necessary and useful.

Question two—What is the present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards the pure and simple trades organizations?

Question three—What should be the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards pure and simple trades organizations? Answer to two and three: The present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards pure and simple trades organizations is hostile. It exposes and smashes them whenever opportunity offers, showing them up as pillars and supporters of capitalism, as witnessed again lately at the Hanna Gompers peace conference, and rightly so.

Question four—Does the S. T. & L. A. need the S. T. & L. A. to expose and overthrow the pure and simple organizations? Answer: Yes, without a doubt.

Question five—Does the connection of the S. T. & L. A. with the S. T. & L. A. strengthen or weaken the Socialist Movement, and in what way? Answer: Since industrial evolution will eventually drive the working class to the ballot box, the political organization of labor is most important, the economic organization least important. Therefore in order that the most important may dominate the least important, the S. T. & L. A. should dominate the S. T. & L. A., which at present it does. Accordingly I would say that in that way the connection of the S. T. & L. A. with the S. T. & L. A. strengthens the Socialist Movement. Should it, however, come to pass that the S. T. & L. A. were to dominate the S. T. & L. A. I should alter my opinion at once and say that in that way the

connection of the S. T. & L. A. with the S. T. & L. A. weakens the Socialist Movement. Why? Because such a state of affairs would transfer the battle from the political field (where our members are a source of strength) to the economic field, where our members would prove a source of weakness.

LOUIS BALLHAUS.

Toronto, Canada.

[Three other letters have been received from Party members—J. H. Drecher, Scranton, Pa.; V. P. King, Holland, Mich.; and M. D. Fitzgerald, Boston, Mass.—all three of which are ruled out, for the present. Somewhere and somewhere in the course of their arguments, these Comrades do touch, in a more or less remote manner, upon the serious questions put by Comrade Curran. It may be clear enough to be inferred from the context of the reasoning of these three Comrades that they stand on the Alliance side of the question. But where one stands is not all that is demanded in this debate. It is demanded that the debaters give an insight into their premises in a co-ordinate way. For that reason the 5 questions have been put in the order in which they were put. There is no reason to neglect them or the order in which they are given. The 5 questions head each batch of debaters. Then, also, one of the three Comrades suggests improvements in the Alliance form of organization. All such matter is clearly out of order at this stage of the debate. The question is not whether the Alliance is perfect, or how to improve it. The question is whether bona fide Trades Unionism is a matter deserving of and requiring S. T. & L. A. attention, and direct intervention; and that broad question dissolves itself into the 5 concrete Curran questions, in the order in which they are put. Accordingly, the pointing out of defects in the Alliance is substantially out of order, unless the pointing out of such defects is accompanied by arguments tending to show the defects to be inherent in the economic organization.

The attention of the Comrades is earnestly called to all this. The question is so broad that the allurement are many and strong to branch off. Unless the debaters stick closely to the question they will either have to be ruled out, or the debate will insensibly relapse again into the bog from which the Curran System strives to keep it.—Ed. THE PEOPLE.]

Interesting to Miners and Others.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Dilcher is back again to Scranton. His work show did not draw, so the Standard Oil Company may have shipped him.

He has gone into the saloon business, to help the miners gain another "victory."

The miners here would like to know what the three district "presidents"—Nichols, Duffy and Fahey—are doing in New York? If not to meet the coal operators, then whom? When they see the sights of New York you will next hear of them in Chicago.

Johnny Mitchell is able to show his pals around now, as he has spent quite a little time around New York City, Buffalo and San Francisco, among the miners there, I suppose.

They ought to have a special car so as to gain "recognition." Mark will see that they get it.

The Indianapolis convention cost the miners over \$100,000 and they want to know what they got for it. The report from the anthracite districts showed 124,000 members in bad standing and the miners say there is no necessity in paying any more "dues," as the Civic Federation is going to settle all their disputes in the future. No more strikes, as Gompers and Mitchell, Grover and Mark will fix things all right.

About a quarter of a million working cards have been printed and now they will be displaced by the button, as a contract has been placed for about one million buttons, one to be used every three months, when a new one will be given out. Next the dog collar will fill the place of the check-off system.

J. A. BARRON.

Scranton, Pa., Feb. 23.

In Tillman-McLaurin State.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I am serving out a 15 days sentence, imposed upon me for holding an open air meeting last Tuesday night. The Court that tried me made the excuse that I had "no right to use the public streets to discuss political questions." The reception I have received in Georgetown is far more severe than the one accorded me at Charleston. My sole purpose for gathering a crowd on the night of my arrest, was to distribute some papers and try if possible to get some subscribers to the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

In the course of my talk, I took occasion to roast the press of the country and the Charleston press in particular for the stand they took in reference to my clashes with the officials of Charleston as an upholder of the cause of labor. And when I was on the point of announcing that I had some WEEKLY PEOPLES to distribute amongst the crowd, the Chief of Police placed me under arrest. Had it not been for this interruption, I would have been successful in my mission. I am writing this letter in my cell, which is not too comfortable, and he food which is given me twice a day is anything but good and hardly enough to satisfy the appetite of a child, let alone a man. But there is the satisfaction of knowing that I suffer for a noble cause. I want the comrades to know that, unfortunately though I have been in my efforts, I am more determined than ever to work and suffer for the fighting S. T. & L. A. I shall notify Section Detroit of my trouble here.

CHARLES PIERSON.

Care County Jail, Georgetown, S. C., Feb. 2.

In Memoriam. Fidele Luzzette—A Roman Catholic Priest interfering in American Politics.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—It is with sorrow that I write announcing the demise of Comrade Fidele Luzzette of Branch Blythedale of Section Allegheny Co., S. T. & L. A. Three weeks ago our comrade was taken sick with a severe cold of pulmonary

character—to which he succumbed on the morning of the 18th inst.

Comrade Luzzette was a candidate on the Party ticket for the township of Elizabeth, but death ordained that he should not know the result of his class-conscious candidacy.

Interment on the morrow became absolutely necessary, condition of the body would permit no delay. A great course of people repaired to the death-stricken home and tenderly conveyed the remains to the railroad station, preceded by a band playing obsequial strains. Arriving at Blythedale by rail we proceeded to the Roman Catholic Church where the Priest rendered the obsequial rites of the church over the remains of our comrade. After the conclusion of the ceremonies we repaired to the cemetery. There a comrade said he thought that the organization of which he was a member desired to say a few words over the remains. The Priest thereupon inquired the name of the organization, to which the comrade replied "The Socialist Labor Party." The Priest then exclaimed, "He therefore is a Socialist?" The reply to which was "Yes, Sir." The Priest then exclaimed, "Had I known that I would not have officiated and come up here," and forthwith left the cemetery. Comment at this time is unnecessary.

Branch Blythedale had delegated Comrade Primo Bassi to read a few remarks prepared for the occasion which commanded reverent attention. The comrades then requested that a few words be given in English by the undersigned, which was done, and especial attention was paid to the conduct of the "Reverend" Gentleman.

W. H. THOMAS.

Buena Vista, Pa., Feb. 22, 1902.

He Pulls Himself Out of the Armory Builders Party.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I have just emerged from the fog of the "multi-nominal" party and with your permission would like to give my now comrades throughout the country some of my experiences with the so-called "Socialist Party."

I had thought I was voting for "Socialism" since November, 1900, as the Social Democratic papers claimed that the Socialist Labor Party had united with the Social Democratic Party. You can imagine my disgust when I learned the truth of the matter was that the Social Democratic Party had received into its ranks those of the S. T. & L. A. who had been "expelled for treasonable conduct toward the working class." Then I saw that I was being made a tool of, to bind the chains of servitude more firmly on the working class, and, to plunge us deeper in misery than we now are with their "Public Ownership of Public Utilities, with their Mark Hanna and his National Civic Federation, and their concern for the middle class. They should nominate Hanna and urge his election in 1904. Hanna would then be in a position to select his cabinet from the board above mentioned. Gompers and all others engaged in misleading labor, could thus "only wage the class struggle," with the striking success, that they have succeeded in betraying members of the wage working class who have been duped, into joining their pure and simple unions. This being the aim of the Social Democratic Party I paid up my dues and withdrew from their organization, and others will do so as soon as the facts are presented to their notice.

A for me, I can not see how it is possible for two Socialist parties to be in the field, and both to work for the interest of the working class, by nominating two rival tickets in the same place, and working to attain the same end. I got in the wrong party and so worked against the interests of the working class by voting against the real party, and when I saw I had been deceived by the Social Democratic Party, I felt in duty bound to try to overcome the evil I have done, and set myself on the right side of the line.

Abraham Lincoln once said labor was prior to, and independent of capital; capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed, so I determined to work, and to vote in the interest of the Socialist Labor Party, in order to add my feeble efforts to restore to labor the fruit of labor.

The objection to the S. T. & L. A. that it is "too radical, uncompromising, extreme and revolutionary," to my mind, is so much evidence in its favor. If the principles are right, we can not be too "extremely" right; nor can we be too "revolutionary" by reversing the present condition of affairs, which we know are wrong side up; or too "uncompromising," because there is "nothing to compromise," as Geo. M. Pullman said at the time of the "Pullman strike," nor can we be too "radically" right, as the old saying, "Be sure you are right, and then go ahead." I will close now as I do not want to monopolize your space. I remain yours for Socialism, not "a step at a time," but Working Class Socialism as soon as it can be accomplished.

JEREMIAH DEVINE.

No. Abington, Mass., Feb. 23.

Brotherhood of Mules and Capitalists.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—The Young Men's Christian Association has within the last few months made its appearance on the lower West Side. As that locality is populated by workmen, except a few capitalists, who could be counted on the finger tips, the Y. M. C. A. had to make some sort of appeal to the workmen so as to catch him. A lecture was held at No. 18 Leroy street Sunday night. Mr. Joseph C. Wood, a New York workman was the speaker. His subject was, "A Visit to the Coal Fields of Pennsylvania." The speaker started by saying that righteousness always wins, as we had an example of it in New York with the defeat of Tammany, and the election of Low as Mayor. He then went to the coal fields to spend his two weeks' vacation in finding how the miner lives, and digs coal. He found the miner very hungry. For what? For Christian truth. Illustrations were then given of how coal is produced. Among them was a picture of a gang of breaker boys sitting on a pile of logs. The boys looked to be from ten years up, but the speaker said little about the boys, most of his

time was spent in explaining about the logs which the boys sat upon. Next the mules were dwelt upon, and much sympathy was expressed for the dumb animals, as the speaker said he was shocked at the wounds on their breasts, but something has been done for the mule. A law has been passed compelling the mule owner to take the animals out of the mine every three months. The speaker showed how improved machinery displaced the mule, and how the working man in the mines took care of their jobs, and saved enough to "buy their own houses." These men belong to the Y. M. C. A. The speaker evidently took good care not to say anything that would offend the capitalists who own the mines, because it is some of these very same men who helped to raise the \$400,000 the Y. M. C. A. got last New Year's day. This money is being used to mislead workmen by feeding them with so-called "Christian Truth."

This Mr. Wood said he preached the brotherhood of man, but the only brotherhood he seemed to have was the mules and the capitalists. There is an organization of workmen in the Third District of the lower West Side under the banner of the S. T. & L. A. which meets every second and fourth Monday at No. 275 Bleeker street. With such an organization in existence the workmen of the West Side have an opportunity to find out the truth.

JOHN KELLY.

New York, Feb. 27.

Progress in Beverly, Mass.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Through the untiring efforts of the Socialist Labor Party the honest rank and file of the Social Democratic Party are becoming disgusted with the actions of the leading fakirs of the S. D. P. and pure and simple labor unions. Out of an organization that comprised one year ago a membership of forty-one, there now remains but six, and there is not a unity of feeling or thought even amongst these.

The first thing of local importance that caused dissatisfaction was the action of one of the members after being instructed to secure the services of Rev. Charles H. Vail, at an expense not to exceed \$5 going contrary to his instructions. The reverend gentleman came and was accompanied by his wife, she always goes with him, "to make the expenses as light as possible," and they always prefer to stay at the home of some one of the members, instead of at a hotel, as he says "to reduce his expenses," but in reality to fatten his own pocket at the expense of the workers that he works. Socialism to him and his kind, is nothing but a business proposition, and he shows conclusively that it is his own family welfare, and not the welfare of others that he is looking after.

He came, charged \$8 for his services got his double supper, lodging and breakfast out of one of the members, and when it is remembered that he is National Organizer at a salary of \$2,000 a year, he proves himself to be a parasite, and one of the worst kind when he gets paid as organizer and then again accepts pay from locals for whom he publicly speaks. All this was duly noted.

The next cause of dissatisfaction was the dissecting of the Trades Union resolution—the one containing the "nobly waging the class struggle" clause—that was passed at the last so-called Unity Convention, and the recognition by some of the members, that such Unions could not be an economic arm of the Working Class, that they must be an economic arm of the Capitalist Class and they are used expressly for the purpose of individual gain and always to the detriment of the workers.

Another incident of no small importance was at the time of the last municipal election. When the slate was made up to be used at the caucus, a member allowed his name to be used as candidate for nomination for alderman in the First Ward. There was also another who allowed his name to be used as candidate for councilman. At the caucus, which was attended by four men, the candidate for alderman, refused to allow his name to be used, giving his reason for so doing that he did not wish to be the means of defeating a personal friend of his who was running for alderman on the Democratic ticket. Accordingly, the ticket of the S. D. P. was made up with no candidate for alderman in the First Ward.

The First Ward is about evenly divided between the Republicans and Democrats, and there was a deal argued between the Democrats and this member of the S. D. P. that if he succeeded in keeping off of the ballot of the S. D. P. any candidate for alderman they would support the S. D. P. candidate for mayor.

The Democrat was elected by a majority of seven votes, the S. D. P. candidate for mayor received 80 votes, being more votes than was cast for Wren for governor in the State election in the whole city. This man is still a member of the S. D. P. and his organization has never asked him to explain how he as a (Socialist?) could be interested in the election or defeat of either the Republican or Democrat.

The S. D. P. had to give up their headquarters for lack of funds, and what is more important, lack of common sense enough for the proper understanding of what is necessary for the regulation of Socialism.

Comrade Maloney was here on Sunday, February 2, and gave a lecture on the "Social Effects of Machinery." There was a fair sized audience. We secured the names of enough men to form a Section of the Socialist Labor Party. We have secured the place formerly used by the Social Democrats for their headquarters and have established therein headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kahn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.
F. J. Darch, Secretary, 110 Dundas street, Market square, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.
2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice: For technical reasons, no Party announcements can be made in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held Feb. 28, at 2-6 New Reade street; R. Katz in the chair. The financial report of the two weeks ending Feb. 22 showed receipts \$56.40; expenditures \$128.04.

Among the communications that came before the meeting were: one from Benjamin Patterson, the Party's Attorney, relative to the litigation with the Volkszeitung Publishing Association. The National Secretary was instructed to act in the matter. Chas. H. Corrigan sent word relative to his case, stating that after several postponements by the Typographical Union it had again been laid over until the June term. Section New York reported the expulsion of Karl Wallberg and Lauritz Nielsen, for having signed a libelous and treacherous document against the Party; also the expulsion of I. Haskins, for violation of Art. 11, Sec. 6 of the Party constitution. From Ogden, Utah, a request for samples of the PEOPLE and about membership at large. The Secretary was instructed to attend to this matter. From Los Angeles, Cal., about amendment to local by-laws, putting a number of questions. The Secretary had answered the questions and answers were approved. Section Reading, Pa., asked for duplicate voting material, which had been sent Chas. Rierson sent word that he had been arrested and sentenced to serve 15 days in jail in Georgetown, S. C., for speaking on the street. From L. Sanial, Northport, N. Y., relative to communicating with the P. O. F. of France. Section Milwaukee, Wis., asked for speaker during municipal campaign. Referred to Circuit Committee.

The New York State Committee transmitted a letter from Section Albany, N. Y., stating that the vote cast on the matter of expulsion of Frank Kochendorfer. This vote being less than two-thirds majority decreed by the constitution, there has been no expulsion and Kochendorfer must be restored to his rights of membership.

A representative of the State Committee is to go to Albany to straighten out the matter. Section Duluth, Minn., sent a communication relative to placing property embodied in their printing plant under control of the N. E. C. Secretary instructed to prepare necessary papers. The Cal. State Committee sent communication bearing upon the contest with the Kansas in the State.

The "International Socialist Bureau" sent a communication relative to be held at Amsterdam. This matter was laid over for one week. Relative to the question of having an agitator of the Irish Socialist Republican Party tour this country, it was decided to refer this matter to the sections in a special circular.

Section Philadelphia reported election of a new organizer. Election of a full set of officers was reported from: Milwaukee, Wis.; Houston, Tex.; Sheboygan, Wis.; Everett, Mass.; Johnston, N. Y. Application for charter transmitted by Mass. State Committee for a section at Beverly, Mass. Granted. Admitted to meet Friday, March 7.

JULIUS HAMMER, Recording Secretary.

Massachusetts S. E. C.
Regular meeting of the State Executive Committee was held at No. 1165 Tremont street, Boston, on February 23, 1902. E. A. Mason in the chair.

Roll call: All present with exception of Quarnstrom of Somerville and Walsh of Lynn.

Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communications: From Beverly, application for charter for Section in the S. E. C. Action, endorsed by S. E. C. and forwarded to the N. E. C. From John Cunningham and Matt L. McDau- leigh of Medway, applications as members-at-large. Action, applications approved and Recording Secretary instructed to procure literature and send a supply to above named comrades for distribution in their neighborhoods. From Lawrence and Everett, vote on Auxiliary resolution. From E. T. Outley of New Haven and J. F. Coyle of Lynn-Gled. From Cambridge, semi-annual financial report, also requesting that an itemized bill of their indebtedness to S. E. C. be sent them. From New York Labor News Company, on stationery for S. E. C. From O'Felly on S. D. movements; Boston, Section constitution for approval, and Malden for itemized bill of indebtedness to S. E. C. From Williams Nockels, organizer of defunct Section, No. Adams, 20 due stamps.

New Business: An appropriation of \$10 was made to assist D. A. 19, S. T. & L. A. in keeping M. T. Berry in March for two weeks on agitation work. \$25 was paid to A. E. Jones, which sum made settlement in full of indebtedness of S. E. C. to above named comrade.

Fin. Sec'y Baasch reported as follows: for dues, Everett, Adams, Salem, Lawrence, Worcester, from Beverly 50c. for charter and \$1.20 for dues; Medway dues, 25c.; from Boston, De Leon Lecture tickets, \$1.20; Medford, 68c. for tickets. Bills for supplies for Fin. Sec'y, \$1.17 and Rec-Sec'y, 88c. ordered paid.

Comrade A. E. Jones donates \$5.00 to S. E. C.

EDWIN S. MAYO, Rec-Sec'y.

22 Villa avenue, Everett, Mass.

Attention, Section Providence, R. I.
There will be a section meeting on Wednesday, March 12, at 8 o'clock, in Textile Hall, Order of Business: Vote on Amendments to National Constitution and other party matters. The Committee on Collections for the DAILY PEOPLE is requested to make a full report.

By order of General Committee.

DAILY PEOPLE MONIES.

Received in answer to circular letter of DAILY PEOPLE, trustees, from February 1st to 28th, 1902. These announcements will be published monthly.

Sections.	Amount.
Phoenix, Ariz.	\$3.00
Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
St. Paul, Minn.	3.00
Hartford, Conn.	7.50
Chicago, Ill.	2.50
Lawrence, Mass.	4.00
13th, Mass.	4.00
Salem, Mass.	.75
28th A. D. N. Y. City.	4.25
34th and 35th A. D. N. Y. City.	7.15
5th A. D. N. Y. City.	3.50
7th A. D. Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00
16th, 17th, and 18th A. D. Brooklyn.	3.50
19th A. D. Brooklyn.	10.00
Excelsior Literary Society, N. Y.	4.36
Onondaga County, N. Y.	4.00
Rochester, N. Y.	4.00
San Antonio, Tex.	3.00

Edward Dittich, Cashier.
Hugo Vogt, Secretary Board of Trustees.

SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter, Sept. 3, 1901.)

Previously acknowledged	\$5,209.70
Section St. Paul, Minn.	3.00
Spittel, \$5.00; Mathies Cikanek, \$1.00	6.00
Section Louisville, Ky.	2.00
Section Indianapolis, Ind.	7.75
Henry Piper, Geneva, O.	.50
Section Pawtucket, R. I.	4.00
Baudreau, \$3.00; Chas. Tobin, \$1.00	4.00
23rd A. D. City—John J. Murphy, \$1.00; John Plimondson, \$1.00	2.00
B. 26, Section Allegheny Co., Pa.	2.00
W. A. Staley	2.00
Section St. Louis, Mo.	\$3.00
Sections Rensselaer and Albany Counties, N. Y. proceeds of dance	1.25
Section Bridgeport, Conn.	1.00
Section Cleveland, O.	1.00
\$1.00; Ida Hauser, \$2.00; Herman Stiles, \$5.00	8.00
16th A. D. N. Y. City.	2.50
Henry Fink, Los Angeles	.50
Section Pueblo, Colo.—Wm. Knight	5.00
Total	\$5,305.60
Edward Dittich, Cashier.	

Frank D. Lyon Fund.	
Lucien Sanial, Northport, N. Y.	1.00
Chas. C. Crawford, N. Y. City	2.00
Troy, N. Y.: John E. Wallace	
\$1; Norman Burnham 25c;	
Cigarmaker 10c; P. De Lee	2.00
65c	
Anton Hoelzer, Jenny Lind, Ark.	1.04
Total	6.04
Previously acknowledged	\$430.96
Grand total	\$437.00
Henry Kahn, National Secretary.	

Attention, New Haven.
Section New Haven will hold meetings to discuss the proposition of the N. E. C. and amendments thereto every Sunday morning at 10:30. The vote will be taken Sunday, March 10th. All members must attend these meetings.

Ernest T. Outley, Organizer.

San Francisco, California.
Section San Francisco, S. L. P., will hold a Commune Festival at its headquarters, 822 Howard street, between Fourth and Fifth, Saturday evening, March 22. Comrade Austin Lewis will deliver an instructive address on the significance of the event and the lessons taught by that historic event. Music, dancing and other social features will follow. All sympathizers are cordially invited. Admission 10 cents each.

Chicago, Ill.
Section Chicago will give an entertainment and ball for the benefit of the DAILY PEOPLE and the coming State election this fall, on March 16, at Uhlrich's hall, 27 North Clark street. An elaborate variety show will be given commencing at 6 P. M., by some of the best local talent connected with and sympathizing with the S. L. P. Addresses by our best speakers will also be made on that most memorable event in the world's history, the Paris Commune. The evening will be given over to that great enjoyable amusement and exercise which should be indulged in by everybody young or old, known as dancing. A 25 cent ticket admits gentleman and lady. Come and bring your friends.

Bayonne, N. J.
A Jewish branch of the S. L. P. has been organized in Bayonne. It will be under the jurisdiction of Section South Hudson.

Blytheville, La. A. 340.
L. A. 340, S. T. & L. A. of Blytheville, Pa., has been reorganized. The following officers were elected: Lorenzo Guerin, organizer; Vincenzo Pagliari, fin. sec'y; Dominico Sambuco, rec. sec'y; Fedele Manfredi, treasurer. Grievance Committee, Guerin, Davoli and Manfredi. The local will hold meetings in each month at 9:30 a. m. At the meeting of February 23, seven new members were admitted. The condolece of the body was extended to the widow and family of Fedele Lusetti who had been one of the most active members of the local.

Painters and Paperhangers Organized.
Yesterday afternoon a mass meeting of painters and paperhangers was held at the club rooms of the Excelsior Literary Society, 235 East Broadway. Comrades Eckstein, Rathkopp and Smilansky addressed the meeting. At the close of the meeting a list of the S. T. & L. A. was organized.

Boston Commune Festival.
In the report of the Entertainment Committee of Greater Boston, last week, there was an error in the list of talent, it should have read:
Ulmian Orchestra;
Scandinavian Socialist Singing Society;
Josephine Gardiner Carr, Reader;
F. Kelley, Violin Soloist;
J. Farrell, Trombone Soloist;
F. Manning, Cornet Soloist;
Al Grant, Humorist;
Geo. G. Lermond, Accompanist, and others.

This entertainment is to be given in connection with a lecture, by Comrade B. F. Keland of New York, on "The Commune—With Special Reference to Working Class Martyrdom" in America, at Paine Memorial Hall, on Sunday, March 10th. Admission 25 cents. Proceeds for the benefit of the State Executive Committee, S. L. P. Tickets are now for sale by members of the party.

ALBERT M. GRANT, Sec'y of the E.C. of G.B. S.L.P.

Commune Celebration in Louisville.

Section Louisville, Ky., will give a grand Commune Celebration at Beck's Hall, Jefferson and First streets, on Sunday March 16th beginning at 8.15 p. m. prompt.

A splendid programme of 14 numbers has been arranged and it behooves every party member to do his utmost to make this affair the most successful ever given in Louisville. Heretofore the programmes have been almost exclusively German, but this year the committee has arranged the programme equally interesting to both English and German speaking comrades, so the former can safely recommend this celebration to all their friends and sympathizers.

The proceeds of the festival will go to the DAILY PEOPLE and Socialistic Arbeiter-Zeitung.

Let every party member do his duty. The Committee.

Hartford, Conn. Attention!
Charles H. Mercer, of Bridgeport, Conn., will deliver a lecture for section Hartford S. L. P. in headquarters, S. L. P. Hall, 802 Main street, at 8 p. m. sharp on Sunday, March 9th. Subject: "The Socialist Labor Party and the so-called Economic League." Comrades and sympathizers should attend and bring their friends along.

Campaign Committee.

A GOOD VOTE.

S. L. P. Candidates Poll Big Vote in Wilmerding, Pa.
Pittsburg, Pa., Feb. 26.—The following is the S. L. P. vote cast in Wilmerding Borough last Tuesday, where Comrade William Adams came within 19 votes of being elected to the Council. Adams 233, Arthur 88, Kennedy 83 for Council.

For School Directors—McGhee 64, Casler 61.

For Auditor—Smith 71.

For Constable—Dougherty 64.

Total vote cast by all parties in the borough 640.

S. L. P. Meetings in St. Louis.

Section St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P., will hold public meetings as follows:
March 16—2:30 p. m., at Walhalla Hall, Tenth street and Franklin avenue. Commune celebration.

March 23—2:30 p. m., Nemeyer's Hall, Eighth street and Lafayette avenue.

March 30—2:30 p. m., Garfield Hall, Thirteenth and Wright streets.

The false teachings and the traitorous actions of the labor fakirs and capitalist politicians to the working class will be exposed at each meeting.

Public Lectures in Buffalo.

Section Erie County, N. Y., has made arrangements for a series of public lectures and discussions to be held every first and third SATURDAY at 8 p. m., in Florence Parlors, 527 Main street, near Geneva street. Everybody welcome. Admission free.

March 15—"The Lesson of the Paris Commune," by B. Reinstein.

Pittsburg S. L. P. Agitation.

W. H. Thomas will deliver a lecture at S. L. P. Headquarters, 111 Market street, on Sunday, March 9, at 3 p. m., on the subject, "Why the United Mine Workers' organization has proved a failure." Admission to the lecture is free and workmen especially mine workers are welcome.

S. L. P. Lectures in Boston.
"Old and New Trade Unionism" will be the subject of an address at Socialist Labor Party headquarters, 165 Tremont street, Thomas F. Brennan of Salem will be the speaker. Those who are opposed to the trade union policy of the S. L. P. should not fail to attend.

Trade Union Discussion in Erie, Pa.
Section Erie, Pa., will hold discussion meetings every Friday evening, beginning at 8 P. M. at Nickel Plate Hall, corner of 20th and Beach streets. Subject, "Economic Organization of Labor," which subject will be continued until further notice. Everybody welcome. Admission free.

THE POOR HEATHEN.
Let us go and find the heathen; let us take him by the hand;

Let us take him from him—let us also take his land;

Let us break it to him gently that it's wrong to be so nude,

And inculcate proper notions of new style, as it's pursued.

Let us show him all the glories of the white man's kingdom come,

And by way of introduction sell him lots of white man's rum.

Let us seek our heathen brother in benighted lands afar,

And impress him with the wrongness of his habits as they are;

Let us guide him nobly, surely, till he's nobly civilized,

And has banished all his foibles, all his fancies so despised.

Let us show him how he's destined to go forward with a jump,

Let our grand, restless progress takes him midships with a bump.

Let us teach him that the bolo and the dagger are not right,

When the seven-shooter follows up its bark with a bite.

Let us bring to him the gospel of the shirt and full dress suit,

And the glad and proper tidings of the proper kind of boot.

Let us lift the poor old heathen from the bog wherein he sticks

And explain to him the beauties of the game of politics.

Then we'll labor with the pagan till he understands our ways

And will ponder with a shudder on his old, unhappy days.

We will stock his land with clothing, we will dot it with gold links,

And he'll hail the architecture of the land of fancy dicks;

And we'll get the glory for it—for the good that we will do—

All the grand, impressive glory—and we'll get his money, too.

Josh Wink, in Baltimore American.

If you are getting this paper without having ordered it, do not refuse it. Someone has paid for your subscription. Renew when it expires.

Amsterdam, N. Y.

At a meeting of Section Amsterdam held January 1st the following officers were installed for the ensuing year:

Organizer—F. Hug.
Recording Secretary—F. Playford.
Financial Secretary—J. Nolan.
Treasurer—M. Towhey.
Literary Agent—A. Playford.
Agent for PEOPLE—M. Duncan.
Grievance Committee—Ch. Hasse, F. La Court, G. Hornbeck.
Auditing Committee—M. Duncan, G. Hornbeck, J. La Court.

Bridgeport, Conn.
Section Bridgeport, Conn., will meet hereafter, until further notice, every Sunday at 7:30 P. M. in Pioneer Hall, corner Main and Elm streets.

C. J. Mercer, Organizer.

NEWS FROM ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

Albuquerque, March 5.—As comrades in other parts of the country have probably never before seen Albuquerque, New Mex., represented in the columns of THE PEOPLE, it may interest them to hear something about it.

The city is situated in the Rio Grande valley and has a fine all-year-round climate, zero being seldom reached in winter and if the 100 degree mark is occasionally passed in summer, the atmosphere is so fine that sunstrokes, etc., are wholly unknown. The population is about 12,000, but the proletarian part of it consists mainly of Mexicans, and common labor receives but very low wages, while living is rather high. Mechanics, such as machinists, boiler-makers, and the building trades receive fairly good pay, and in summer there is a good deal of work in the building line. The real proletarian is, however, hardly to be found here as yet, and the vast majority of workers are altogether unclass-conscious. There can, therefore, not be expected to be a very strong sentiment in favor of Socialism for some time, although there are signs of awakening even now.

The party, variously known as "Kangaroo," "Multi-Cocoa," etc., etc., had the Rev. Karl D. Thompson here, lecturing, a few months ago, and now have a club of "Alte-Genossen" for which they vaguely claim a membership of "several hundreds," under the leadership of one Stamm, a wholesale merchant, their following consisting mainly of struggling middle-class traders, etc., not to mention a bunch of "Jolly boys," generally found at the faro tables in the saloons, some "goody-goody" church-scholars, "me-too," Populists and freaks, besides a few honest dupes whom I hope eventually to enlighten as far as to see "where they are at." They (the Kangs) have resolved to put up a city-ticket at the next election here, but they are treated with deserved contempt by the daily Republican organ which declares that their party will easily beat them by nominating a ticket of the "best" citizens. The freaks are going to fight the freaks. "When Greek meets Greek," you know. Bellamy's water-tank is going to swamp out Mark Hanna's "fool" dinner-pail, etc.

These Kangs are displaying a great deal of activity in their own funny way, one of their ways of doing "peezness" being to send out a kid (to whom a touch of soap and water would be a blessing), with a bagful of "Appeals to Nonsense," which are distributed free along the street, etc.

Brother Capital is represented here mainly by the A. P. of L. railroads, who employ in their shops about 1,000 men at low wages, generally, and has its pound of flesh out of them, too. "Brother Labor" is represented by the scabbing B. of L. E. Machinists and Boilermakers' Unions, and some other dead and coffin societies. "Brother Labor" and "Brother Capital" seem to live in the best of harmony, which is secured by "Brother Labor" licking "Brother Capital's" toe, whenever the latter chooses to kick him. Having joined the S.L.P. only within the last six months and not having belonged to any similar organization before, I have never learned to speak in public deal. It would, therefore, be of great benefit to the movement and help to me, if a comrade, who has been a member of an S.L.P. section and can speak a little, could come here. If he were a carpenter, mason or machinist, he would be tolerably sure of employment and if he suffered from any lung or chest complaint, the climate would be a great boon to him. Any comrade who sees this and wishes to change residence should communicate with the undersigned through the P. O. General Delivery.

Down with wage-slavery and forward to the Socialist Republic is the watchword.

J. A. STROMQVIST, Albuquerque, New Mex., Feb. 9.

S. L. P. Lectures in Cleveland.
March 9.—"How the landlords Manage to Live in Idleness and Luxury," speaker John D. Goerke.

Joint Meeting of D. A.'s 4 and 40.
To the Officers and Delegates of D. A.'s 4 and 40:

Comrades—You are hereby notified that in accordance with Article V., Section 7, of the constitution, you are instructed to meet in joint session on Sunday afternoon, March 9th, in the DAILY PEOPLE Building, to elect a member of the General Executive Board in place of Comrade Frederick Euhorn, who has tendered his resignation. Meeting will be called to order at 3 o'clock.

W. L. Brower, Gen. Sec.

Pittsburg Alliance Agitation.
Local Alliance No. 365 of the S. T. & L. A. has, through its Agitation Committee, decided to run a series of agitation meetings at Sewall's Hall, Ninth and Main streets, Braddock, on Monday night of each week. All workers are invited to attend these lectures.

March 10—"Can Strikes Benefit the Working Class?" by E. R. Markley.

March 17—"Capitalist Development and its Effects upon the Working Class," by H. Jackson.

Pittsburg District Alliance No. 15, S. T. & L. A.

The next regular meeting of D. A. 15 will be held on Sunday, March 9, at 10:30 a. m. sharp, at headquarters, No. 111 Market street, Pittsburg, Pa. All delegates will please attend.

Daily People Ladies' Auxiliary.
The Daily People Ladies' Auxiliary desires to again call upon the Comrades and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party to contribute what they can in the line of presents for the Grand Bazaar and Fair to be held in connection with the Daily People Festival at Grand Central Palace on Sunday, March 16th, 1902.

All presents to be sent to the undersigned.

Kate Pryor, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Field of Labor.
The struggle for "Trade Autonomy." The old style, or pure and simple form of trades unionism is now in the throes of a conflict that threatens it with dissolution. From all sides there come reports of struggles for control between opposing organizations in important industries. Strikes are ordered by one organization against the other. Scabbing is alternately indulged in, the members of one organization taking the places of the other. Just now the struggle waxes strong in the building trades in New York City. Last week it raged in the brewery industry in Cincinnati. Not so very long ago it was fought out between the mine firemen and the United Mine Workers in the mining industry. In cigar-making, in the tobacco industry, in printing, railroading, steel and iron making, in glass-blowing, the same condition of affairs exists, bodies of "organized" labor are at one another's throats, ready and willing to profit by one another's vicissitudes and playing into the hands of the only enemy of the workers, the capitalist class.

This friction has always existed to a certain extent, but never so much as at the present time. Now it rages with an intensity and virulence formerly unknown. This is largely due to an attempt to concentrate labor organizations on the same scale of magnitude as capital is concentrated. Just as in the consolidation of capital many industries are concentrated into one central organization so it is felt and urged labor must be "organized" into one organization, regardless of trade divisions. This tendency is noticeable in the building trades conflict where efforts are being made to secure control of the machine wood-workers, and in the brewing industry, where the brewers proper, are endeavoring to dominate the engineers and firemen. It manifested itself in the conflict in which the Typographical union insisted on the control of the Mergenthaler machinists and the stereotypes.

This tendency has been favored by the capitalist class, as its triumph will make the subjugation of labor easier by that class. With the concentration of labor organizations will go the concentration of power in the hands of the labor fakirs. Having fewer labor fakirs to deal with, the capitalist class will accordingly find it less difficult to put the quietus upon any trouble that may arise in any department of industry.

The more powerful labor fakirs have also favored this tendency. With greater power they can secure greater rewards for their treachery. Their influence, politically and otherwise, is proportionately increased as is their price. The less-powerful fakirs have opposed this tendency. They see in it the destruction of their petty offices and the loss of the pickings and the plums which are theirs.

The less-powerful fakirs are unconsciously aided in their opposition by the opposition of the honest rank and file. In the tendency to concentrate labor organizations, the weaker bodies are likely to prove the greater sufferers. Their interests—such as they are—are likely to be sacrificed for those of the more powerful and important branches of industry. Their dues and funds will be utilized to their own undoing. A comparatively small body like that of the mine firemen, for instance, is likely to have its interests sacrificed to the larger body of miners; whereas, if they preserve an independent existence, their organization may be able to profit in times of trouble, by taking advantage of the situation. And so the honest rank and file rather than lose the alleged benefits of their separate organizations, oppose any tendency to concentrate them, such tendency being equal to abolition, in their opinion.

The primary cause of the struggle for control, however, is to be found in the false teachings of old-style unionism. These teachings are essentially capitalist. When put into practice these teachings are capitalist in results. Thus it is that we see that in the endeavor to parallel the concentration of capital, the "labor" organizations follow the crushing tactics, with all its corruption, that accompanies the concentration of capital. The little organizations must be crushed out, just as the little capitalists are crushed out. Scabbing must be resorted to in one case, just as stock-manipulation is in the other. Bribery flourishes under either circumstance and so does self-aggrandizement.

Were pure and simpleminded not capitalistic in principle and practice there would be a solidarity of labor co-extensive with capitalist industry. Experience has demonstrated that the working class can only organize successfully on the lines of the class struggle; and that when these lines are ignored working class progress becomes a hopeless fiasco. With the observance of the principles of the class struggle there goes hand in hand an observance of the interests of all labor and not merely those of its triumphant or dominant factions. It becomes the duty, accordingly, for every workingman who believes in the economic organization of labor to work for such organization on class lines.

Such an organization is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which, together with the Socialist Labor Party, is laboring to organize the proletariat of America, into a movement having for its aim the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of the ENTIRE working class. Workingmen, join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party and hasten the glorious day of working class solidarity.

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SECTION INDIANAPOLIS.